



Experimental Interventions Using Mass Media to Change Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Around Vulnerability to Forced Labor in Hong Kong

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ACONYMN LIST

FADWU	Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Unions
HRC	Human Rights Committee
HTV	Human Trafficking Vulnerability
IMWU	Indonesian Migrant Workers' Union
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices
MDWs	Migrant Domestic Workers
NSL	National Security Law
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
USDOL	United States Department of Labor

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents research on migrant domestic workers' (MDW) vulnerability to forced labor in Hong Kong, and examines whether awareness campaigns can be used to shift attitudes and behaviors around forced labor. It presents data from a randomized control trial (RCT) that measures the impact of awareness campaigns on knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) regarding forced labor and human trafficking among two populations in Hong Kong: the general public (GP), and MDWs from Indonesia, The Philippines, and Nepal working in Hong Kong. Specifically, the study examines whether awareness campaigns can be employed to induce shifts in KAP to reduce forced labor and the exploitation of MDWs. It also explores whether there are differences in the efficacy of awareness campaigns based on whether the information is delivered in the form of a narrative via a video, or in the form of poster that succinctly lists key facts. The report also makes cross-national comparisons to Nepal using data from a previous study on vulnerability to human trafficking and forced labor that the researchers conducted in 2015.

The Hong Kong economy depends on the labor of MDWs from other parts of Asia. As of 2019, there were over 385,000 registered MDWs from a variety of Asian countries, including Indonesia, the Philippines, and Nepal, constituting roughly 10% of the labor force in Hong Kong.¹ By some accounts, approximately 15% of the area's households hire an MDW, and this rate has been increasing over time.² MDWs indirectly contribute \$2.6 billion USD annually to Hong Kong's economy by providing domestic help and elderly care.³ Analysis of Hong Kong census data suggests that MDW labor enables a significantly higher rate of women's labor force participation.⁴ Despite their importance within Hong Kong and the existence of legislation designed to protect the rights of MDWs, including mandating formal employment through contracts, MDWs in Hong Kong face exploitative conditions. By testing the effectiveness of awareness-raising, this study sheds light on MDWs working conditions and explores ways to improve them.

General Population and Migrant Domestic Worker Baseline Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices

In the analysis, we evaluate KAP baseline levels for the GP and MDW samples by assessing KAP among those not exposed to the treatment. In the presentation of the results among GP respondents, we differentiate between respondents who employ MDWs and those who do not. We make this differentiation given the assumption that employers of MDWs may have significantly different KAP regarding MDWs due to the greater experience and knowledge they have with MDW employment. Employers' attitudes are of particular significance, as their actions most directly affect the well-being of MDWs. Yet, it is also important to evaluate the KAP of non-employers, as they can provide vital assistance in reporting cases of MDW abuse if they observe them occurring in their communities and could employ MDWs in the future.

As expected, the study finds that employers are more knowledgeable than non-employers regarding the rights and working conditions of MDWs. In terms of attitudes, on average, employers and non-employers

¹Trading Economics. 2019.. "Hong Kong Employed Persons." Retrieved from <https://tradingeconomics.com/hong-kong/employed-persons>; Enrich HK. (2019). "The Value of Care." Retrieved from https://enrichhk.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/Final_The-Value-of-Care_Full-Report.pdf.

²Enrich HK. 2019. "The Value of Care." Retrieved from https://enrichhk.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/Final_The-Value-of-Care_Full-Report.pdf.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

do not perceive exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong as a large problem. This low assessment of the magnitude of the problem, despite our study showing that more than 1 in 3 MDWs in our study noting that they have experienced unfree recruitment, working conditions that are exploitative, and/or severe restrictions to leave their employer suggests an important role for awareness-raising to inform the public of the scope of the problem of labor exploitation. In contrast, both employers and non-employers express relatively high levels of sympathy for MDWs who experience labor exploitation, as well as a low tolerance for abusive behaviors towards MDWs. Importantly, however, employers are more likely to identify certain abusive behaviors as acceptable than non-employers. In particular, employers are significantly more likely to rank monitoring an MDW's cell phone use and waking up an MDW in the middle of the night to care for children as more acceptable than non-employers.

On average, MDWs have relatively high levels of knowledge about working conditions and legal requirements regarding MDWs' work. Filipina MDWs have, on average, higher levels of knowledge on a greater number of issues facing MDWs than their Indonesian counterparts. This may result from differences in training and orientation that occur in their respective home countries or from differences in education levels, which are significantly higher among Filipinas. As compared to the GP, MDWs are more likely to view labor exploitation and human trafficking as prevalent in Hong Kong. MDWs express a greater need for the government to prioritize issues surrounding MDW employment. MDWs also report higher levels of willingness to take action against labor abuse than GP respondents, both by calling the police and by talking to their family and friends. Interestingly, MDWs have a higher tolerance than GP respondents for the mistreatment of MDWs, with tolerance rising with more years of experience working as MDW. This tolerance may suggest that witnessing and/or experiencing repeated forms of abuse leads workers to view abuse from employers as concomitant with their profession.

Effects of the Awareness Campaign Treatments

Overall, the awareness campaigns have positive effects on knowledge regarding forced labor and MDW rights and working conditions; however, they have limited effects on people's attitudes and practices. The results tend to be stronger among the GP than MDWs. The study finds that the video campaign generally has greater effects on most relevant outcomes than the poster.

Focusing specifically on the GP, we find that the awareness campaigns generally have the hypothesized effects on KAP. The video campaign tends to be more impactful than the fact-based poster campaign. The impact also tends to affect individuals who are more immediately affected — in this case, employers. The most substantial effects are on variables related to knowledge, rather than on attitudes and practices. The video campaigns also have a considerable impact on increasing respondents' perception of the scope of exploitation of MDWs and forced labor in Hong Kong. The poster campaign only had an effect on increasing the perception of the scope of exploitation of MDWs.

As compared to the GP, the awareness campaigns are, in general, less effective in bringing about changes among MDWs. As noted above, the campaigns have a strong effect on GP knowledge levels, with the video campaign significantly increasing GP knowledge levels on five indicators: rest hours, minimum wage, agency fees, holding passport, and the size of MDW population in Hong Kong. The video does not,

however, lead to significant increases on any knowledge indicators among MDWs. We also find limited effects on attitudinal outcomes. We observe large and statistically significant increases in MDWs perception of the scope of exploitation, labor abuse, and human trafficking in Hong Kong. However, for other outcome measures relating to attitudes, including the acceptability of abusive behaviors and sympathy for MDWs who experience abuse, we find that the campaigns are mostly ineffective in bringing about changes among MDWs.

Cross-National Comparison of Awareness Campaigns Between Hong Kong and Nepal

In 2015, the research team conducted a similar study measuring the efficacy of anti-trafficking campaigns on the general population in Nepal.⁵ A comparison of results from these two studies finds that the Nepali GP had higher levels of knowledge surrounding forced labor and human trafficking at baseline than the Hong Kong general population. In Nepal, respondents were exposed to an anti-trafficking campaign, while the Hong Kong campaign featured issues relating to MDW rights. When comparing the effects of the respective campaigns, both effectively increase the perceptions amongst the general population of the scope of the problem the campaign addressed. Similarly, the campaigns in both Nepal and Hong Kong had a positive impact on GP knowledge levels, and less of an effect on attitudes and behavior. The studies taken together show the promise of employing awareness campaigns to raise knowledge around the particularities of what forced labor is, and the scope of the problem within their communities.

⁵ For results of this study see: Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. (2016). "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series, USAID. Retrieved from: <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/DFG-Vanderbilt-Publication>.

INTRODUCTION

I. Background and Study Rationale

A. The Situation of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

Hong Kong has one of the highest densities of migrant domestic workers (hereafter MDWs) in the world.¹ As of 2019, there were over 385,000 registered MDWs from a variety of Asian countries, including Indonesia, the Philippines, and Nepal, constituting roughly 10% of the labor force in Hong Kong.² The abundance of affordable domestic work has been the economic backbone of Hong Kong.³ By some accounts, approximately 15% of the area's households hire an MDW, and this rate has been growing.⁴ MDWs indirectly contribute \$2.6 billion USD annually to Hong Kong's economy by providing domestic help and elderly care.⁵ Analysis of Hong Kong census data suggests that MDW domestic labor has increased the participation of women in the labor force by 30%.⁶

On paper, Hong Kong is regarded as one of the best places in the world for MDWs to work. Unlike many other countries that recruit MDWs, Hong Kong has a formal temporary labor migration scheme for this population. The Hong Kong government has also enacted regulations to protect MDWs, including policies for statutory minimum wage, minimum weekly rest hours,⁷ paid return trips to their home country, a standardized 2-year employment contract,⁸ and free health care. The Hong Kong government claims to place significant emphasis on protecting the rights of its MDWs.⁹

Despite the existence of legislation designed to protect the rights of MDWs, including formal employment through contracts, many MDWs in Hong Kong are exploited and are vulnerable to forced labor and human trafficking.¹⁰ One survey of MDWs in Hong Kong found that nearly 1 in 5 MDWs had experienced at least one indicator of forced labor, such as unfree recruitment processes, working under duress, and the impossibility of leaving.¹¹ Such data indicate that despite legislative efforts, MDWs in Hong Kong continue to face exploitative conditions.

Two policies designed by the Hong Kong government expose MDWs to risks of labor abuse, forced labor, and human trafficking. First, the Hong Kong government makes it compulsory for MDWs to live with their

¹ Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. "Coming Clean."

² Trading Economics. 2019. "Hong Kong Employed Persons." Retrieved from: <https://tradingeconomics.com/hong-kong/employed-persons>; Enrich HK. 2019. "The Value of Care." Retrieved from https://enrichhk.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/Final_The-Value-of-Care_Full-Report.pdf.

³ Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. "Coming Clean."

⁴ Enrich HK. 2019. "The Value of Care." Retrieved from: https://enrichhk.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/Final_The-Value-of-Care_Full-Report.pdf.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ HKSAR Government. 2019. "Hiring Foreign Domestic Helpers." Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.hk/en/residents/employment/recruitment/foreigndomestichelper.htm>.

⁸ HKSAR Government. 2019. "Employment Contract for a Domestic Helper Recruited from Outside Hong Kong - English Version." Retrieved from: <https://www.immd.gov.hk/eng/forms/forms/id407.html>.

⁹ Cheung, Matthew. 2017. "Hong Kong is Committed to Protecting Foreign Domestic Helpers' Labour Rights and Safety." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2121773/hong-kong-committed-protecting-foreign-domestic-helpers>.

¹⁰ Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. "Coming Clean."

¹¹ Ibid.

employers. This “live-in” requirement makes MDWs prone to excessive working hours by blurring work and rest time, increases the risks of poor living conditions, and makes MDWs more susceptible to physical, sexual and verbal abuse.¹² The live-in requirement isolates MDWs in the homes of their employers, thus increasing their vulnerability to exploitation by making it harder for them to have others as witnesses of abuse and sources of support and protection.¹³ Second, the government requires MDWs to leave Hong Kong upon completion of their contract or within two weeks of the date of termination of their contract. This rule exposes MDWs to the risk of forced labor and human trafficking because it requires them to scramble to find alternative employment in Hong Kong within this limited timeframe. Together, these policies expose MDWs to risks of labor exploitation from employers and employment agencies and place undue pressure on MDWs to tolerate poor and illegal working conditions for fear of being fired.¹⁴

Figure 1.1: MDWs Gathering for MDW Right Advocacy



Caption: Sheilla Estrada, leader of the Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Union, speaks on Monday, April 15, 2019 at a court hearing for Baby Jane Allas, an MDW who was illegally terminated by her employer after receiving a cancer diagnosis while working in Hong Kong. Credit: Biz Herman.

More generally, Hong Kong has no comprehensive legislation or policies to tackle either forced labor or human trafficking. Hong Kong has not sought an extension of the Palermo Protocol to Hong Kong from the People’s Republic of China, despite repeated recommendations to do so by various UN human rights bodies.¹⁵ Hong Kong also defines human trafficking narrowly, such that it is considered a crime only when

¹² Ibid, 25.

¹³ Anderson, Jade, and Li, Anderson. 2018. “Refugees or Victims of Human Trafficking? The Case of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong.” *Anti-Trafficking Review*, (11), 60; Surtees, Rebecca. 2003. “Female Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Indonesian Context.” *Development*, 46(3), 100.

¹⁴ Constable, Nicole. 2007. *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Migrant Workers*. Cornell University Press, 212.

¹⁵ Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. “Coming Clean,” 75.

it involves cross-border sex trafficking for prostitution. As a result, very few people have been officially identified as victims of human trafficking, despite clear indications of human trafficking and forced labor.¹⁶

Figure 1.2: MDWs in Central Hong Kong



Caption: MDWs gathering near Central Hong Kong on Sunday, April 14, 2019. Sundays are when the majority of MDWs take their mandated 24-hour rest period each week and gather in public spaces. Credit: Biz Herman.

B. MDWs, the Pro-Democracy Movement, and COVID-19

The timing of this research coincided with the rise of the Pro-Democracy Movement in Hong Kong and the global COVID-19 pandemic. These phenomena have affected the lives of MDWs in Hong Kong and had an impact on how the field team designed and carried out research. The following sections discuss the effects of these phenomena on the lives of MDWs in Hong Kong, as they both exacerbate vulnerability to forced labor and exploitative labor conditions. Chapter 2 will discuss the impact on data collection.

Effects of the Pro-Democracy Movement on MDWs

The Pro-democracy movement arose in 2019 as a response to the Hong Kong government's introduction of the Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill. The bill sparked opposition because it would allow for the extradition of Hong Kongers to mainland China for trial. Pro-Democracy supporters viewed the bill as an incursion on Hong Kong's autonomy. In June 2019, people took to the streets calling for the withdrawal of the bill, along with several other demands to protect and strengthen democracy in Hong Kong and maintain autonomy from Beijing. When the Hong Kong government failed to meet the demands, clashes between protesters and the police escalated. This led

¹⁶ Anderson, Jade, and Li, Anderson. 2018. "Refugees or Victims of Human Trafficking? The Case of Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong." *Anti-Trafficking Review*, (11), 66.

to increasingly large demonstrations, some of them attracting almost 2 million participants, representing 30 percent of Hong Kong's citizens.¹⁷

Figure 1.3: MDWs in Victoria Park in Hong Kong



Caption: MDWs gathering at Victoria Park on Sunday, February 23, 2020. Credit: Adam Zendel.

The ongoing political unrest due to the protests has deeply affected the daily lives of MDWs. The protests have disrupted their mobility and access to public spaces. On their one day off a week, MDWs rely on public areas, such as Victoria Park or Central,¹⁸ both of which have become common protest sites during the movement, to congregate outside of their employers' homes. The protests have also severely interrupted the public transportation system, thus limiting MDWs' mobility on rest days.¹⁹ Moreover, fast-changing situations during the protests, as well as language barriers between the MDWs and many of the protesters, have made it such that MDWs find themselves caught in an "information war," often unable to locate accurate information about protests.²⁰ MDWs therefore find themselves unable to adjust to the unpredictable protest schedule. The disruptions are exacerbated by the fact that protests are mostly held on

¹⁷ SCMP Reporters. 2019. "As It Happened: A Historic Day in Hong Kong Concludes Peacefully as Organisers Claim Almost 2 Million People Came Out in Protest Against the Fugitive Bill." Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3014695/sea-black-hong-kong-will-march-against-suspended>.

¹⁸ Fiona Sun. 2019. "Hong Kong's Domestic Helpers Struggle through Fear and Pain of the Protest Crisis." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3031541/hong-kongs-domestic-helpers-indonesia-and-philippines>.

¹⁹ Joles, Betsy and Chu, Jaime. 2019. "Domestic Workers Search for Rights amid Hong Kong's Protests." *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/domestic-workers-search-rights-pro-democracy-protests-191020174734212.html>.

²⁰ Quackenbush, Casey. 2019. "Hong Kong's Domestic Workers Feel Caught Between Both Sides in the Information War." *Washington Post*. Retrieved from: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/hong-kongs-domestic-workers-feel-caught-between-both-sides-in-information-war/2019/10/22/2f15fb1c-ea0a-11e9-a329-7378fbfa1b63_story.html.

weekends, which coincides with their rest day.²¹ Moreover, Hong Kongers frequently ask the MDWs they employ to spend more hours caring for their children so they can participate in the protests.²² Thus, an increased number of MDWs are spending their rest day at their employers, with the tacit expectation that they will continue working despite the legal requirement that they take 24 hours off.

Figure 1.4: MDWs in Victoria Park in Hong Kong



Caption: MDWs gathering at Victoria Park on Sunday, February 23, 2020. Credit: Adam Zendel.

The Hong Kong police system has also been fully engaged in dealing with the chaotic political environment under the protests. As a result, issues that are seen as less pressing, including issues of labor abuse as experienced by MDWs, are being deprioritized. For instance, the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Union (IMWU)²³ has reported that they have encountered delays in report filing.²⁴ Further, while the protests focus on protecting democratic rights, the demands of protesters exclude issues specific to MDWs and other minorities such as gaining residency status. This demonstrates the failure of the pro-democracy movement to adequately address the dependence of Hong Kong's economy on the exploitation of migrant labor.²⁵

²¹ Fiona Sun. 2019. "Hong Kong's Domestic Helpers Struggle through Fear and Pain of the Protest Crisis." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/politics/article/3031541/hong-kongs-domestic-helpers-indonesia-and-philippines>.

²² Joles, Betsy and Chu, Jaime. 2019. "Domestic Workers Search for Rights amid Hong Kong's Protests." *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/domestic-workers-search-rights-pro-democracy-protests-191020174734212.html>.

²³ The Indonesian Migrant Worker's Union in Hong Kong (IMWU) is a union of migrant workers for foreign domestic workers from Indonesia who are in Hong Kong.

²⁴ Joles, Betsy and Chu, Jaime. 2019. "Domestic Workers Search for Rights amid Hong Kong's Protests." *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/domestic-workers-search-rights-pro-democracy-protests-191020174734212.html>.

²⁵ Promise Li. 2019. "Hong Kong's Protest Movement Must Stop Ignoring Migrant Workers." *openDemocracy*. Retrieved from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/hong-kongs-protest-movement-must-stop-ignoring-migrant-workers/>.

While MDWs support the principles of the pro-democracy movement, many are hesitant to participate for a variety of reasons.²⁶ This includes fear of jeopardizing their jobs if their employers support establishment politics, difficulty managing time with their demanding schedules, appeals from their home country governments to avoid protest areas, and posts circulating on social media threatening to attack racial minorities who participate in the movement.²⁷ Despite these limitations, some MDWs are using social media to show support,²⁸ and a subset are joining protesters on the streets. Among those who participated in the protests was Yuli Riswati, an MDW and reporter who had been documenting the protests. Riswati was detained in November 2019 and deported in December 2019. Her deportation led to criticism from supporters of Yuli who stated that her deportation was an example of how Hong Kong authorities repress the voices of MDWs.²⁹ The government has also made appeals for MDWs to help curtail the protests, for example with Hong Kong's former chief executive Leung Chun-ying encouraging MDWs to report on their employers if they possess any "illegal items" related to the protests.³⁰

Protesters' concerns regarding China's increasing control over the region were exacerbated on June 30, 2020 with the passing of China's National Security Law (NSL). Prior to the law's passage, there was little information released regarding what the NSL would entail, and the Hong Kong government maintained "unusual secrecy" about its content.³¹ Presently, the NSL criminalizes "any act of secession, subversion, terrorism, or collusion with foreign powers," and its passing seems intended to stifle dissent after months of pro-Democracy protests.³² Any form of overt dissent or participation in pro-democracy demonstrations can now result in serious punishment. Since the law's passing, peaceful demonstrators have been arrested on charges of subversion and terrorism.³³ Beijing has established security offices and units in local police departments, and residents suspected of criticizing the regime could be held without bail.³⁴ The presence of Beijing may also intimidate NGOs and other social groups, who could face restrictions in the coming months.³⁵

Protestors are engaging in subtle forms of dissent against the law. Since the slogan "Liberate Hong Kong" has been banned, individuals have been using blank pieces of paper in demonstrations to symbolize Beijing's harsh repression of speech.³⁶ Those uncomfortable with assembling publicly have been showing

²⁶ Michael Beltran. 2019. "Why Are Migrant Workers Joining the Hong Kong Protests?" *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/why-are-migrant-workers-joining-the-hong-kong-protests/>.

²⁷ Promise Li. 2019. "Hong Kong's Protest Movement Must Stop Ignoring Migrant Workers." *openDemocracy*. Retrieved from: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/hong-kongs-protest-movement-must-stop-ignoring-migrant-workers/>.

²⁸ Michael Beltran. 2019. "Why Are Migrant Workers Joining the Hong Kong Protests?" *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/why-are-migrant-workers-joining-the-hong-kong-protests/>.

²⁹ Tang, Nickolas. 2019. "Hong Kong Deports Writer and Migrant Worker Yuli Riswati." *Lausan*. Retrieved from: <https://lausan.hk/2019/hong-kong-deports-writer-and-migrant-worker-yuli-riswati/>.

³⁰ Rhea Mogul. 2019. "Ex-Hong Kong Leader Urges Domestic Workers to 'Report' Employers with Protest Gear." *Hong Kong Free Press*. Retrieved from: <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2019/10/31/ex-hong-kong-leader-urges-domestic-workers-report-employers-protest-gear/>.

³¹ Chris Buckley, Keith Bradsher, and Tiffany May. 2020. "New Security Law Gives China Sweeping Powers Over Hong Kong." *New York Times*, June 29. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/29/world/asia/china-hong-kong-security-law-rules.html>.

³² BBC. "Hong Kong Security Law: What Is It and Is It Worrying?" *BBC*, June 30. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-52765838>.

³³ Chris Buckley, Keith Bradsher, and Tiffany May. 2020. "New Security Law Gives China Sweeping Powers Over Hong Kong." *New York Times*, June 29. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/29/world/asia/china-hong-kong-security-law-rules.html>.

³⁴ *Ibid*

³⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁶ CBC. 2020. "Facing New Security Bill, Protesters in Hong Kong Plan to Use the Region's Financial Power Against China." *CBC*, July 3. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/day6/backlash-against-masks-the-future-of-hong-kong-protest-empty-stadiums-canada-s-migrant->

their support through actions such as economic boycotts of pro-Beijing businesses, instead purchasing goods from pro-Democracy businesses.³⁷

Migrant workers in Hong Kong also fear imprisonment and extradition. There are approximately 380,000 migrant workers in Hong Kong (as of 2019), and some have been active participants in the protests since the beginning.³⁸ While Indonesian and Filipino workers face the threat of extradition due to China's extradition agreement with their respective countries, not much research or documentation is available regarding the security law's direct impact on migrant communities, and the extent to which Beijing could take punitive measures against MDWs remains unclear.³⁹

Effects of COVID-19 on MDWs in Hong Kong and Beyond

The COVID-19 pandemic also exacerbated MDW's vulnerability to forced labor and exploitative labor conditions. As of August 7, 2020, Hong Kong has had 3939 confirmed cases of COVID-19 cases with 47 deaths. Cases peaked in mid-April and then steadily declined until late July when a 3rd wave of cases emerged.⁴⁰ Since mid-May, cases in Hong Kong have been minimal, although there has been a slight increase since late-June. Among these cases, at least 13 Filipino migrants contracted the virus, some of whom are MDWs.⁴¹ In addition to the risk of contraction, MDWs are also significantly impacted by COVID-19-related policies and restrictions.

Border restrictions have made it difficult for MDWs to travel back and forth from their home countries, leaving many who were visiting family or planning to start working in Hong Kong stuck back in their home countries when the pandemic hit. This was exacerbated by the fact that the pandemic hit during Chinese New Year, a period when many MDWs get time off to return to their home countries. The Filipino government implemented a travel ban on Hong Kong beginning on February 2, 2020, resulting in many airlines canceling their flights between the two countries through the entirety of the month.⁴² Furthermore, starting from March 25, 2020, the Hong Kong government announced that all non-Hong Kong residents would be denied entry to the region.⁴³ Although those who hold a work visa were exempt from the travel ban, they are subject to a compulsory quarantine for 14 days, which means that MDWs with a visa in hand could travel to Hong Kong. However, the Indonesian government implemented a travel ban to Hong Kong

[workers-and-more-1.5635175/facing-new-security-bill-protesters-in-hong-kong-plan-to-use-the-region-s-financial-power-against-china-1.5635186.](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-53596299)

³⁷ Mary Hui. 2020. "Laam Cau: The High-Stakes Game that Hong Kong Protesters are Waging with China." *QUARTZ*, June 30. Retrieved from: <https://qz.com/1873189/hong-kong-protesters-gamble-national-security-law-will-backfire-on-china/>.

³⁸ Michael Beltran. 2009. "Why are Migrant Workers Joining the Hong Kong Protests." *The Diplomat*, June 5. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/07/why-are-migrant-workers-joining-the-hong-kong-protests/>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-53596299>

⁴¹ Lalu, Gabriel Pabico, 2020. "Six More Filipinos in Hong Kong Test Positive for COVID-19." *Inquirer.net*. Retrieved from: <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1248419/six-more-filipinos-in-hong-kong-test-positive-for-COVID-19>. There have been no demographic reports of Filipino workers contracting COVID-19 since March.

⁴² Jalea, Glee and Gregorio, Xave, 2020. "Duterte Widens Travel Ban on Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau." *CNN Philippines*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/2/2/Duterte-travel-ban-mainland-China-Hong-Kong-Macau.html>.

⁴³ 2020. "Points to Note for Quarantine for Inbound Travellers." *The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Retrieved from: <https://www.coronavirus.gov.hk/eng/inbound-travel.html>.

that prevented nearly one thousand MDWs from leaving the country and the Philippine government only began to allow newly hired MDWs to travel outside the country on June 1, 2020.⁴⁴

Given that MDWs rely economically on maintaining their jobs in Hong Kong, navigating these shifting regulations makes them highly vulnerable to exploitation. From February 2nd until the 18th, the Filipino government imposed a travel ban on Hong Kong, Macau, and Mainland China; however, when this ban was first announced, the intended duration was unclear, stranding many domestic workers without an income indefinitely.⁴⁵ This lack of income affects the domestic workers themselves but also their families who rely on remittances. MDWs currently working in Hong Kong are facing financial uncertainties and risks of being terminated as economic conditions worsen. Many MDWs may find themselves stuck in a debt trap if they lose their jobs and are unable to pay back loans borrowed for employment agency fees. Recent reporting connects the economic burden of the debt trap to suicide attempts among MDWs.⁴⁶ Employers also leave incoming MDWs without shelter due to fears regarding the live-in requirement and the possibility of COVID-19 transmission.⁴⁷ According to a survey conducted by the Hong Kong Union of Employment Agencies, 95% of the participating employers said they preferred not to live with their domestic workers during their 14-day quarantine due to lack of separate bathrooms.⁴⁸ However, since quarantine hotels are unaffordable, MDWs entering Hong Kong are in urgent need of appropriate shelter during the 14-day quarantine period. Despite widespread public support for a centralized quarantine center for MDWs, the government has yet to establish one.⁴⁹

In addition to uncertainties related to financial pressures and mobility restrictions, MDWs face discrimination in access to resources for healthcare and hygiene. An online survey conducted by the Asian Migrants Coordinating Body in June 2020 revealed that about 14% of the 1127 MDWs surveyed had never received masks or hand sanitizer from their employers.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the fear amongst employers that a domestic worker could contract COVID-19 has led to early termination and loss of employment. In addition, a survey conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Unions (FADWU) found that dozens of MDWs have been fired by an employer who suspects they have COVID-19.⁵¹

COVID-19 has also exacerbated vulnerability to labor abuse. For instance, restrictions on public gatherings have limited the ability of MDWs to spend their rest day outside their employer's house and meet with

⁴⁴ Jeff Pao, 2020. "Quarantined Migrant Workers 'Treated Poorly' in HK." *Asia Times*. Retrieved from: <https://asiatimes.com/2020/06/quarantined-workers-treated-poorly-in-hk/>.

⁴⁵ Dancel, Raul. 2020. "Philippines Lifts Travel Ban on Filipinos Working in Hong Kong, Macau". *The Straits Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/philippines-lifts-travel-ban-on-filipinos-working-in-hong-kong-macau>; Jeff Pao. 2020. "HK Maids Stranded in Manila Due to Travel Ban." *Asia Times*. Retrieved from: <https://asiatimes.com/2020/02/hk-maids-stranded-in-manila-due-to-travel-ban/>.

⁴⁶ Raquel Carvalho. 2020. "How Coronavirus Pushes Hong Kong Domestic Workers Into Debt Traps." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/people/article/3082509/how-coronavirus-pushes-hong-kong-domestic-workers-debt-traps>.

⁴⁷ Jeff Pao, 2020. "HK Quarantine Center Plea as Domestic Workers Return." *Asia Times*. Retrieved from: <https://asiatimes.com/2020/06/hold-quarantine-centre-plea-as-domestic-workers-return/>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Phila Siu, 2020. "Coronavirus: Hong Kong Employers Called 'Irresponsible' as Survey Reveals 50,000 Domestic Helpers Not Given Masks, Sanitiser." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/3075434/coronavirus-hong-kong-employers-called>.

⁵¹ Zoe Low, 2020. "Coronavirus: Dozens of Domestic Workers in Hong Kong Fired by Bosses Who Assume They Have COVID-19, Unions Say." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/society/article/3090919/coronavirus-dozens-domestic-workers-hong-kong-fired-bosses>.

friends. On January 30th, The Hong Kong Labor Department released a statement encouraging migrant workers to spend their days off inside to prevent transmission. Since the release of this statement, MDWs have reported their employers threatening termination if they go out on their day off.⁵² Staying at home on their rest-day has further blurred lines between rest and work because MDWs feel an explicit or tacit obligation to care for children or work on their day off if they are in the house.⁵³ The Mission for Migrant Workers, a charitable organization that advocates for MDWs, stated that from January to March 2020, 91 out of 188 reported cases of abuse were related to COVID-19.⁵⁴ Moreover, due to the pandemic the Mission has shortened office hours, reducing its capacity to protect workers, staff and volunteers.⁵⁵ Although other MDW service providers have not reported a reduction in resources, the increase in cases of exploitation and abuse due to COVID-19 has made it difficult for NGOs to keep up with the demand for assistance.⁵⁶ In addition, NGOs have had to adjust their services to be primarily deliverable via virtual means to keep with government regulations.⁵⁷

C. Study Objectives

MDWs' vulnerability to forced labor in Hong Kong, as described in the previous sections, motivates our proposal to test whether awareness campaigns can be used to reduce vulnerability to forced labor by shifting attitudes and norms. Specifically, we explore the following research questions: what is the effect of mass media campaigns on norms and behaviors related to vulnerability to forced labor? Namely, can awareness campaigns be employed to induce shifts in knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) that will reduce the incidence of forced labor and assist victims of forced labor? Finally, are there differences in efficacy based on the type of awareness campaigns and, in particular, whether it is a narrative-based or a fact-based campaign? We aim to answer these questions in the Hong Kong context. To do this, we implement a randomized controlled trial to test the effects of mass media campaigns about worker rights and forced labor among two populations in Hong Kong: migrant domestic workers and the general Hong Kong population that hires them.

Prior to carrying out the research in Hong Kong that is presented in this report, we conducted a similar study in Nepal that focused on the *supply* side of vulnerability to forced labor.⁵⁸ This study focused on individuals who are themselves likely to migrate and fall victim to forced labor or human trafficking, or on individuals who might know someone to whom this could happen. One of the key findings of that study was that awareness-raising campaigns appear to have only limited impact on vulnerable individuals, and

⁵² Albert Han, 2020. "Alcohol Baths, Reused Masks, and Lonely Sundays: Hong Kong Domestic Helpers Feel 'Singled Out' Amid COVID-19 Outbreak." *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from:

<https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/3049226/alcohol-baths-reused-masks-and-lonely-sundays>.

⁵³ Alexandra Chan. 2020. "Hong Kong's Domestic Workers: When 'Stay at Home' Means 'Live at Work.'" *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from: <https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/hong-kongs-domestic-workers-when-stay-at-home-means-live-at-work/>.

⁵⁴ Mary Ann Benitez. 2020. "Domestic Helpers Face Worsening Conditions." *The Standard*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/section-news/section/4/219055/Domestic-helpers-face-worsening-conditions>. The article did not provide details on these cases.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ 2020. "Coping with COVID-19 - Perspectives from NGOs on the Ground." *Justice Without Borders*. Retrieved from: <https://forjusticewithoutborders.org/coping-with-COVID-19-perspectives-from-ngos-on-the-ground/>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series, USAID. Retrieved from: <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/DFG-Vanderbilt-Publication>.

that any impact is short-lived.⁵⁹ Thus, a principal objective of this Hong Kong study is to expand the scope of research on awareness campaign efficacy to clarify whether mass media campaigns can be used as a tool for reducing vulnerability to forced labor amongst actual migrants, as well as raising awareness amongst the general public who employs them.

Our research in Hong Kong addressed these questions in two ways. The study assessed the impact of awareness campaigns by conducting two experimental surveys: an in-person survey of MDWs and an in-person survey of the general population. The first examined the generalizability of the findings from the Nepal study,⁶⁰ via a survey of MDWs that includes Nepali migrants located in Hong Kong. Second, it examined the *demand* side of vulnerability to human trafficking by disseminating a mass-media campaign and a subsequent survey of the general population in Hong Kong — those individuals who are hiring MDWs.

The remainder of the report is organized as follows. Chapter 2 describes the research methods and randomization procedure. Chapter 3 presents information about the general population's and MDW's baseline KAP as pertains to MDW labor rights, forced labor, and human trafficking. It also compares cross-country baseline KAP results between the Hong Kong general population and the Nepal general population. Chapter 4 discusses the results of the experiment, shedding light on the impact of a mass media campaign on MDW rights on the KAP of MDW rights, forced labor, and human trafficking amongst the general population and MDWs living in Hong Kong. It also provides a general comparative overview of treatment effects found in the Nepal study and those found in Hong Kong.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

METHODS AND RANDOMIZATION

I. Sample Description

This chapter describes the research design and randomization procedure used in this study for both the general population and MDW surveys. The chapter begins by describing the study participants, sampling frame, and demographic characteristics of the sample for each survey. Next, the chapter discusses the effects of the COVID-19 on each of the sample populations. Finally, the chapter describes questionnaire design, interventions, outcomes of interest and statistical methods used for the study.

A. General Population Study Participants

Figure 2.1: Map of Hong Kong District Council Constituency Areas

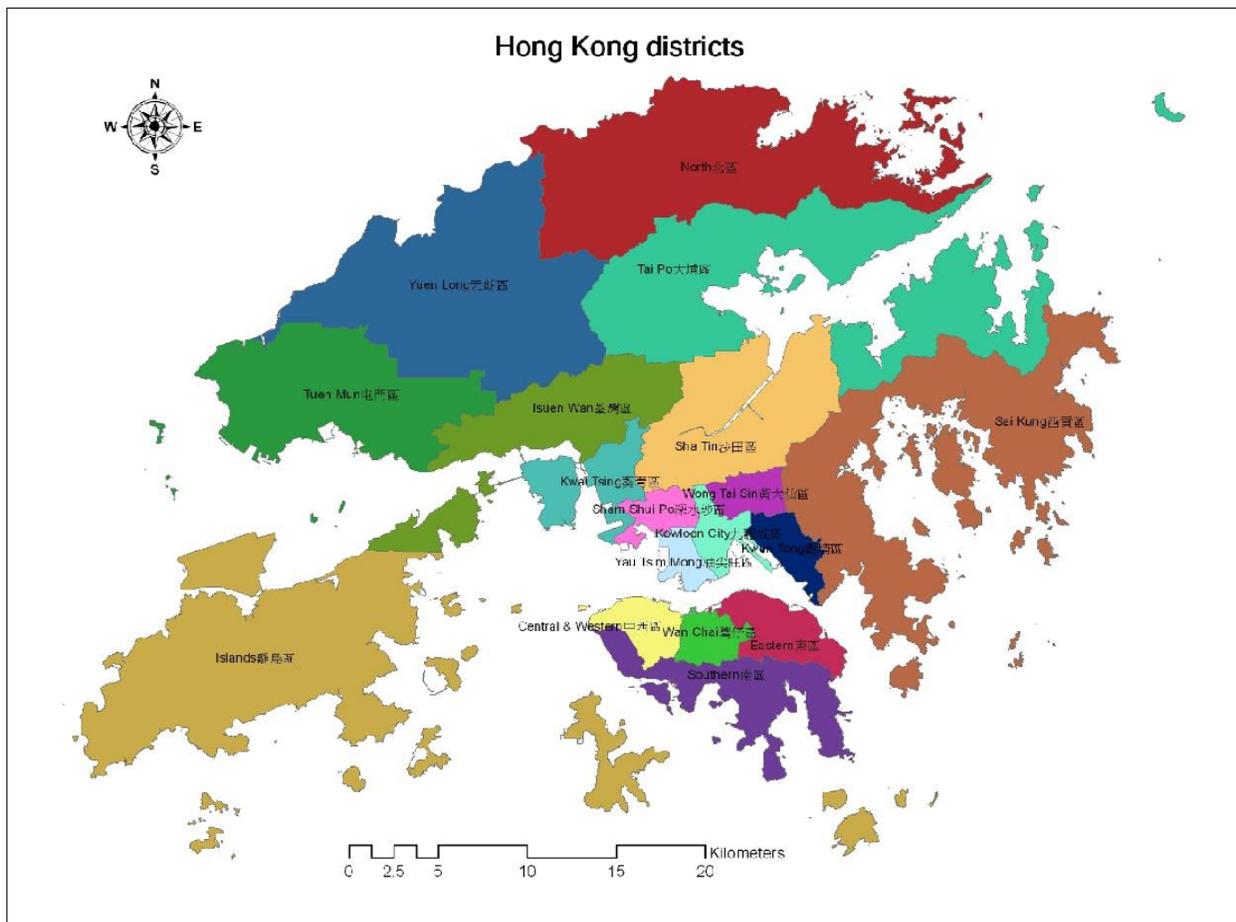
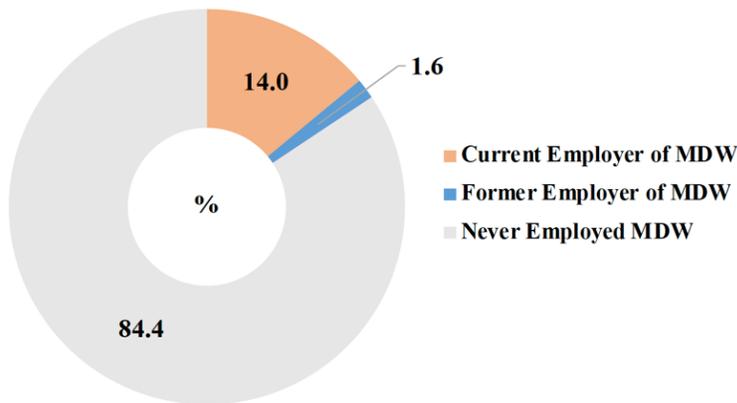


Table 2.1: Representation of Employers and Non-Employers

	Included in Sample	Population
Currently Employers of MDWs	50%	14%
Currently Not Employers of MDWs	50%	86%

Figure 2.2: Incidence of Ever Employed MDW



Note: Base is unweighted general population, excluding those who refused to answer (n = 1,999).

The study participants are 2,000 members of the general population of Hong Kong between the ages of 18 to 64 from the 18 District Council Constituent Areas (Figure 2.1).¹ Since the study addresses the recruitment and labor conditions of MDWs, the study oversampled employers of MDWs. In Hong Kong, the proportion of the population that employs MDWs is 14% and they made up 50% of our sample (Table 2.1). Oversampling of employers ensured a large enough sample size to calculate the efficacy of mass-media campaigns on this key population. As shown in Figure 2.2, 1.6% of general population respondents were former employers of MDWs, and we counted these respondents as non-employers.

General Population Sampling Frame

Our sample drew from a random selection of the general population of Hong Kong. As of 2019, Hong Kong had a population of approximately 7.5 million people. The study sample covered residents from all regions and districts of the city and achieved geographical representation according to the 2019 census (Table 2.2). The sample also achieved representativeness with respect to gender and age (Table 2.3).

To achieve this sample, the field team carried out the following sampling procedure. On each fieldwork day, the research team deployed two sub-teams of four to six enumerators and one supervisor to a respective district. At the start of a day of data collection, the supervisor debriefed the enumerators on their target sampling quotas for the day. Enumerators were stationed in sight of the supervisor for quality control monitoring and observation of their work progress. Eligible respondents were approached by an enumerator to complete the survey on a tablet. The average survey length was 22.11 minutes (minimum 13.75 minutes, maximum 42.22 minutes), depending on which treatment was randomly assigned — the treatment video, the poster, or control (neither video nor poster). The general population survey was available for completion in either Cantonese or English; all respondents chose to complete the survey in Cantonese.

¹ District Council Constituency Areas: The Hong Kong districts are the 18 political areas into which Hong Kong is geographically and administratively divided. Each district has a district council. In addition, Hong Kong Census and Statistics analyses the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population at the District Council district level. Relevant sources are as follows: The district of Hong Kong (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Districts_of_Hong_Kong) Population and Household Statistics analyzed by District Council District (<https://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B11303012018AN18B0100.pdf>)

Table 2.2: Interview Locations, Sample versus Census

Region	Sampling %	Census %
Hong Kong Island	17.0	16.9
Kowloon	31.0	30.5
The New Territories	52.0	52.6

District	Sampling %	Census %
Central and Western	3.5	3.3
Eastern	7.3	7.5
Southern	3.5	3.6
Wan Chai	2.8	2.5
Sham Shui Po	5.8	5.5
Kowloon City	5.5	5.6
Kwun Tong	9.3	9.1

District (continued)	Sampling %	Census %
Wong Tai Sin	5.8	5.8
Yau Tsim Mong	4.8	4.6
Islands	2.3	2.2
Kwai Tsing	6.8	6.9
North	4.3	4.3
Sai Kung	6.0	6.3
Sha Tin	9.0	9.3
Tai Po	4.0	4.2
Tsuen Wan	4.3	4.3
Tuen Mun	7.0	6.6
Yuen Long	8.5	8.6

Table 2.3: Representativeness of Sample by Age and Gender, General Population

	Sample Size (No.)	Sample Size (%)	Population, 2019 (%)	Population, 2020 (%)
All respondents	2,000			
Male	919	46%	46%	46%
Female	1,081	54%	54%	54%
18 - 29	360	18%	18%	18%
30 - 39	460	23%	23%	23%
40 - 49	480	24%	24%	23%
50 - 59	500	25%	25%	24%
60 - 64	200	10%	10%	12%

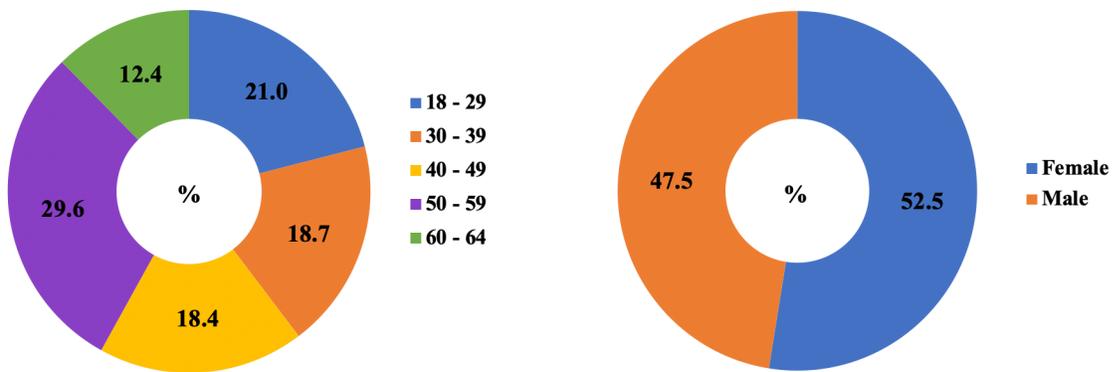
Demographic Distribution of Sample

Figures 2.3 - 2.6 show the demographic breakdown of the sample by age, gender, nationality, education, marital status, ethnicity. As discussed above, our sample is representative of national age and gender characteristics (Figure 2.3). When it comes to ethnicity and nationality (Figure 2.4), Hong Kong is a relatively homogenous society. According to the 2016 census, the most recent census that reports on ethnicity, Hong Kong is 92% ethnically Han Chinese. In the survey, 100% of respondents identify as ethnically Chinese. This difference may be due to the fact that we excluded migrant workers from our general population study, and they make up a large percentage of ethnic minorities. According to the 2016 census, among the 8% non-Han-Chinese population, Indonesian and Filipino account for 4.6%, most of whom are migrant domestic workers and thus excluded from the general public study. In addition, as the research team was using a street-intercept method to recruit participants during the COVID-19 pandemic,

when more people were staying at home, some minority groups may have been less accessible than they would have been in other circumstances. In terms of nationality, 97.2% of our sample identify as ‘Hong Konger,’ with only 2.8 percent identifying as Mainland Chinese and 0.1% identifying their nationality as Indonesian (Figure 2.4). It is important to note that nationality is highly politicized in Hong Kong at the moment due to the pro-democracy movement and attempts by the Chinese Government to increase control over Hong Kong.² This situation has led to stigma against Mainland Chinese living in Hong Kong.³

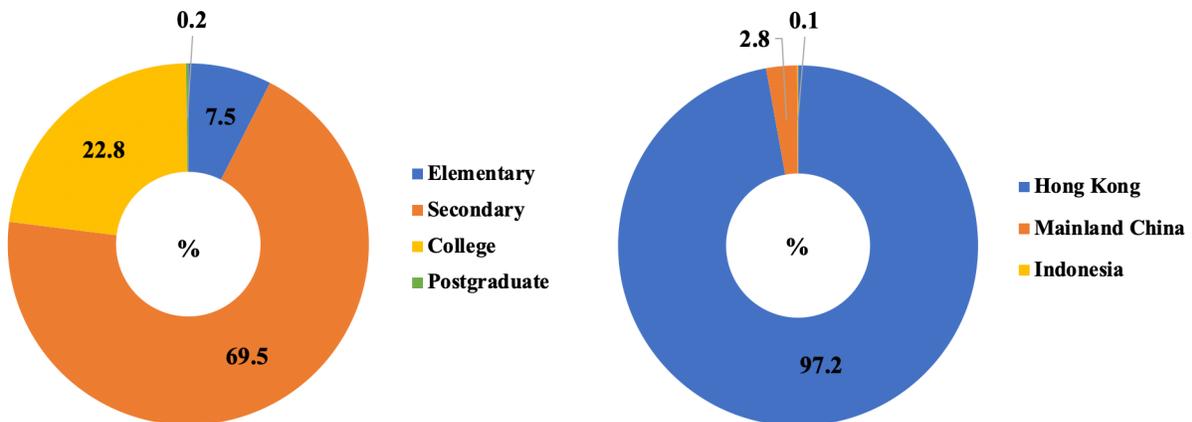
In terms of education, respondents reported high levels of formal education: 7.5% completed elementary school, 69.5% completed secondary education, 22.8% completed post-secondary education, and 2.5% completed postgraduate studies (Figure 2.4). Over half of the sample identified as married and 31.9% identified as never having been married (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.3: Age and Gender, General Population



Note: Base is weighted general population (n=2,000). Average age is 44.0 years old.

Figure 2.4: Educational Attainment and Nationality, General Population

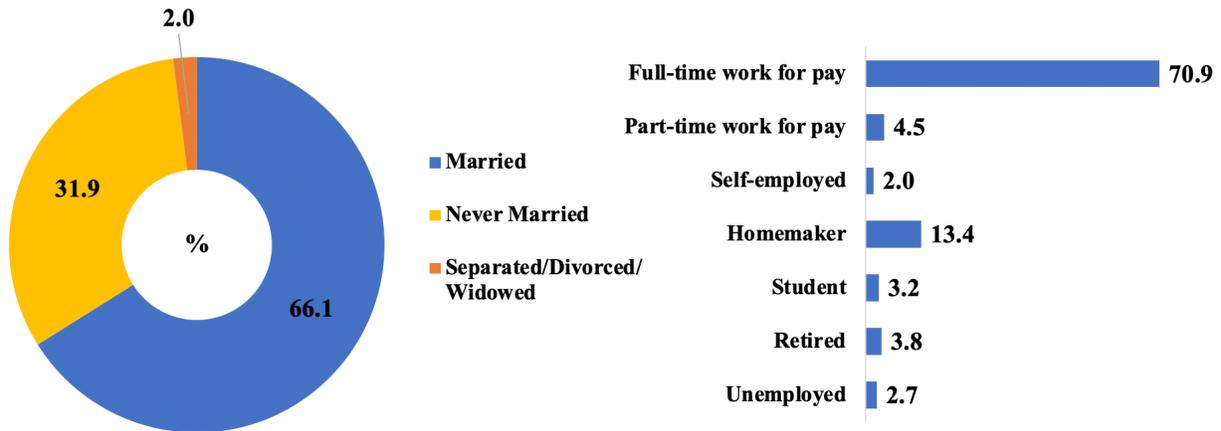


Note: Base is weighted general population (n=2,000).

² Fisher M. 2019. “One Country, Two Nationalisms’: The Identity Crisis Behind Hong Kong’s Turmoil.” *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/27/world/asia/hong-kong-protests-identity.html?auth=login-email&login=email>

³ Chan C. 2020. “Hongkongers’ Prejudice and Mainlanders: There’s More to It Than Politics and the Virus.” *Hong Kong Free Press*. Retrieved from: <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/02/15/hongkongers-prejudice-mainlanders-theres-politics-virus/>

Figure 2.5: Marital Status and Employment Status, General Population



Note: Base is weighted general population (n = 2,000).

Demographic Distribution by Household and Economic Characteristics

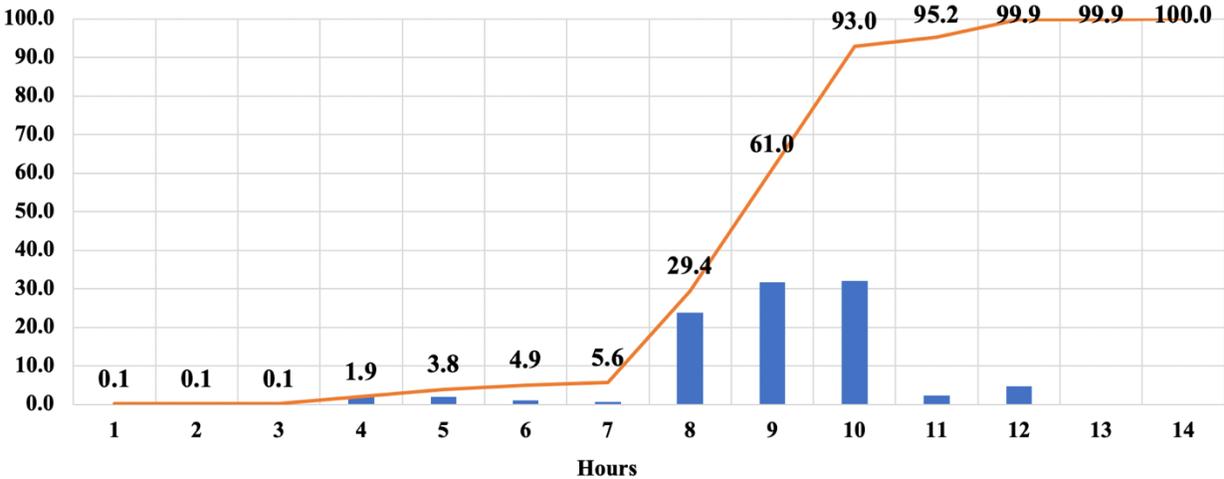
The live-in requirement means that an MDW’s experience can vary according to the household and economic characteristics of their employer. Thus, we collected detailed information on these characteristics. Only 2.7% of the sample identified as unemployed and over three quarters of the population identify as employed full- or part-time (Figure 2.5). Of those who are employed, they are primarily engaged in the import/export, and transportation services sector (Table 2.4) and their average workday lasts for over nine hours (Figure 2.6).

Table 2.4: Primary Work Industry, General Population

Primary Work Industry	%
Import/export, wholesale and retail trades	27.8
Transportation, storage, postal and courier services	15.6
Accommodation and food services	15.0
Construction	13.8
Miscellaneous social and personal services	5.7
Manufacturing	5.6
Financing and insurance	4.9
Public administration, education, human health, and social work activities	4.3
Information and communications	3.6
Real estate, professional and business services	2.4
Creative and Performing arts	0.3
Sports	0.2
Other	0.7

Note: Base is weighted general population for whom question is relevant, excluding those who refused to answer (n = 1,627).

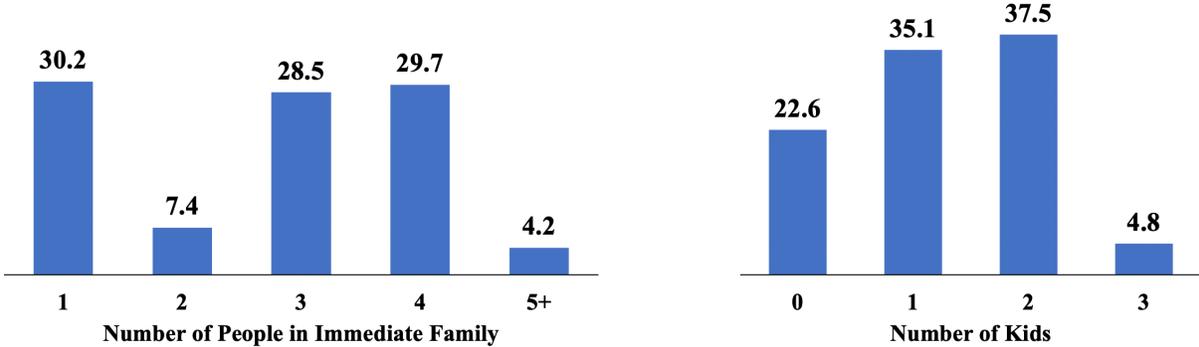
Figure 2.6: Number of Hours of Work Per Day, General Population



Note: Base is weighted general population for whom question is relevant, excluding those who refused to answer (n = 1,627).

In terms of household characteristics, the average respondent has 2.7 people in their immediate family, including one child (Figure 2.7). Over three quarters of the sample report having between 3 to 4 people living in their home (Figure 2.8) with the average household having 2.1 bedrooms (Figure 2.8).

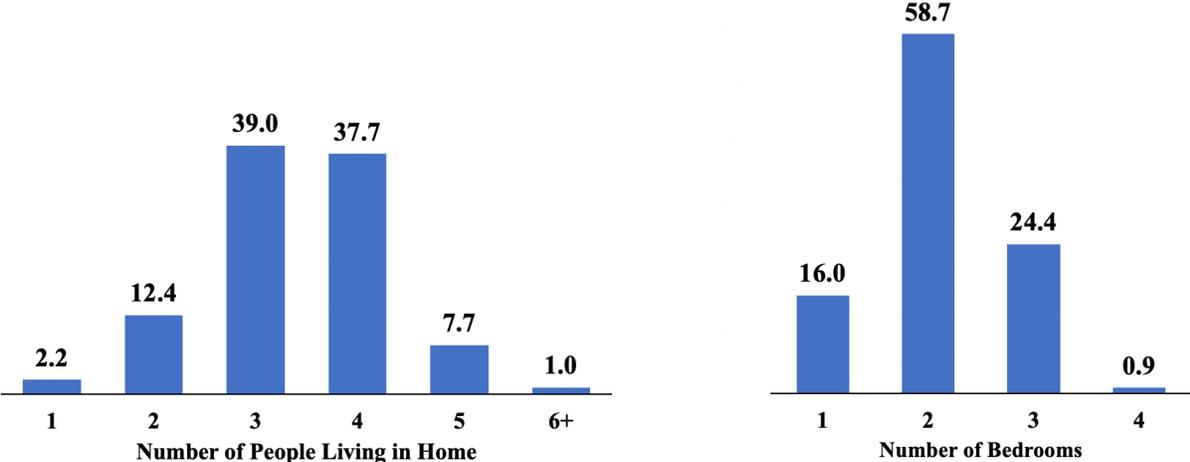
Figure 2.7: Number of People in Immediate Family and Number of Kids, General Population



Note: Base is weighted general population for whom question is relevant, excluding those who refused to answer (immediate family: n = 2,000; kids: n = 1,703).

The average monthly household income amongst respondents is 47,294 HKD (approximately \$6,100 USD) (Table 2.5). Over half of the sample (56.1%) pay less than 5,000 HKD in rent or mortgage (approximately \$645 USD) and 18.8% pay between 5,000 and 10,000 HKD (approximately \$645 to \$1,290 USD) (Table 2.6).

Figure 2.8: Number of People Living in Home and Number of Bedrooms, General Population



Note: Base is weighted general population for whom question is relevant, excluding those who refused to answer (people in home: n = 1,998; bedrooms: n = 1,999). Average for number of people living in home excludes outliers (n = 3) that were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean.

Table 2.5: Average Monthly Household Income (in HKD), General Population

Income	%	Cumulative %
Below HK\$10,000	5.2	5.2
HK\$10,000 - 29,999	15.0	20.2
HK\$30,000 - 49,999	48.2	68.4
HK\$50,000 - 69,999	13.6	81.9
HK\$70,000 - 89,999	12.8	94.7
HK\$90,000 - 109,999	2.3	97.0
HK\$110,000 - 129,999	2.0	99.1
HK\$130,000 - 149,999	0.7	99.8
HK\$150,000 or over	0.2	100.0

Note: Base is weighted general population, excluding those who refused to answer (n=1,999).

Table 2.6: Monthly Rent or Mortgage Payment (in HKD), General Population

Rent or Mortgage	%
Below HK\$5,000	56.1
HK\$5,001 - 10,000	18.8
HK\$10,001 - 20,000	19.8
HK\$20,001 - 30,000	5.0
HK\$30,001 and Above	0.3

Note: Base is weighted general population, excluding those who refused to answer (n = 1,967).

General Population Response Rate

General population data collection first occurred from March 20 to March 22, 2020. It was then paused due to COVID-19⁴ restrictions. Data collection was then resumed on May 6, 2020 and completed on June 16, 2020. The data were collected using street-intercepted self-administered surveys. The response rate for the study was 7.8%, with a completion rate of 99.9% (see Table 2.7). The research team approached a total of 25,695 individuals for the study. Of those, 20,031 individuals refused to participate, and 3,663 individuals were determined ineligible for participation. Typical response rates for a 20-minute survey conducted through street intercept surveys in Hong Kong are between 10% to 15%. During COVID-19, the field team observed a 5 to 7% drop in response rates across several other street-intercept studies. As such, we expect the lower response rate in our study may have been caused by disruptions in daily life due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 2.7: Response Rate, General Population

General Public	
Completes	2,000
Refusals	20,031
Screen-Out or Ineligible	3,663
Drop-Out Cases	1
Total Approached	25,695
Valid Response Rate	7.8%
Completion Rate	99.9%

Note: Total approached = number of completes + number of refusals + number of drop-out cases + number of screen-out/ineligible cases. Valid response rate = (number of completes + number of drop-out cases) / total approached. Completion rate = number of completes / (number of completes + number of drop-out cases).

B. MDW Population Study Participants

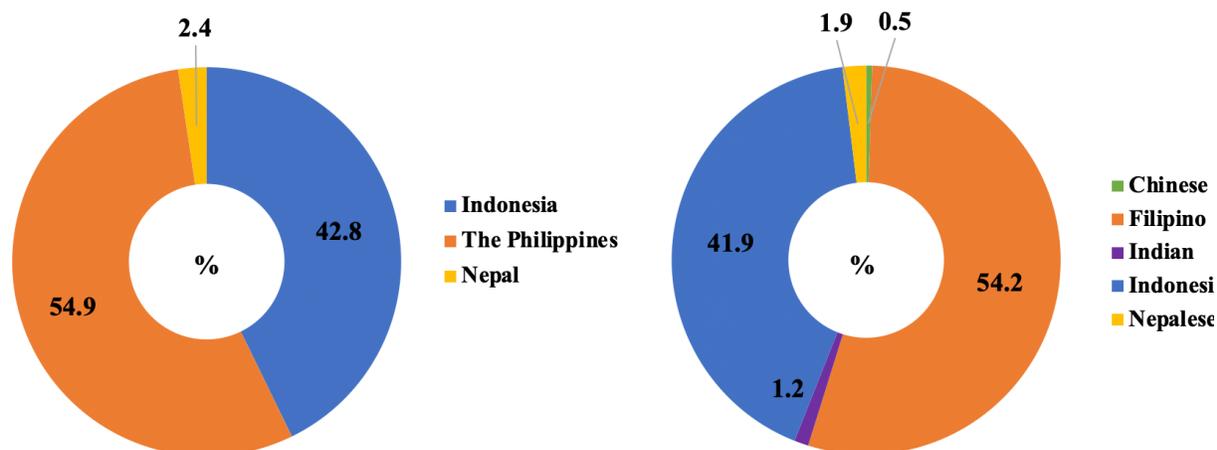
The study participants for the MDW survey were 1,040 female migrant domestic workers (MDWs) from The Philippines, Indonesia, and Nepal, who currently reside in Hong Kong (Figure 2.9). As of 2019, Hong Kong had a total population of 385,000 migrant domestic workers — 54% from the Philippines, 43% from Indonesia and 3% from other countries, such as Thailand, Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh.⁵ There is no government data on the total population of Nepali MDWs in Hong Kong because there is a ban

⁴ Note for both the general population and MDW surveys, the field team took the following safety precautions while interacting with the public during data collection to reduce the risk of the community spread: (1) Enumerators were provided with masks and only approached respondents wearing masks. The implication is that members of the public without masks (potentially risk-takers) were not surveyed. (2) As part of the survey, respondents are asked to watch and listen to videos. Respondents who we randomly assigned to listen to these videos were encouraged to use their own headphones. If the respondent did not have headphones, the enumerators provided headphones that were sanitized with alcohol wipes. (3) Tablets were sanitized between each respondent.

⁵ Enrich HK. 2019. "The Value of Care." Retrieved from https://enrichhk.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/Final_The-Value-of-Care_Full-Report.pdf.

preventing Nepalis from coming under the formalized system.⁶⁷ However, according to a report by The Union of Nepalese Domestic Workers in 2016, it is estimated that there are less than 1,000 Nepalese domestic workers in Hong Kong.⁸ Of note, given that Nepali MDWs come through unregulated channels, they are highly vulnerable to labor exploitation.⁹ As expected, given our sampling strategy, 54% identify their ethnic background as Filipino, 42% as Indonesian, and 2% as Nepalese (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9: Nationality and Ethnicity, MDW Sample



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (nationality: n = 1,040; ethnicity: n = 1,038).

MDW Sampling Frame

MDW data collection started on May 24, 2020 and ended on July 19, 2020. Given that most MDWs are from Indonesia and The Philippines, the research team used systematic random sampling to select the target respondents of those nationalities in the selected sampling locations (see Table 2.8). Sampling locations were selected based on where MDWs typically gather on their days off. MDWs typically get one rest day per week (usually Saturday or Sunday). On this rest day, they gather in outdoor public spaces to spend some leisure time outside of their employer’s home. Figure 2.10 shows the locations where MDWs typically gather and the proportion of the sample recruited in a given location by their ethnicity. The study oversampled Nepalese MDWs, in order to connect back to the work on human trafficking completed in the previous phase of the research. To access Nepalese domestic workers, who represent a very small portion of the MDW population in Hong Kong, the research team used a referral approach through community network organizations that included the Union of Nepalese Domestic Workers in Hong Kong and Hong Kong Integrated Nepalese Society Limited.

⁶ Basnet, Purna. 2011. *HK Urged to Lift Ban on Nepali Domestic Workers*. Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility (Kathmandu). <https://www.ceslam.org/news/608>

⁷ Lai, Catherine. 2016. “Almost Half of Nepalese Domestic Workers Are Underpaid and Do Not Receive Holidays – Survey.” *Hong Kong Free Press*. Retrieved from: <https://hongkongfp.com/2016/09/27/almost-half-of-nepalese-domestic-workers-are-underpaid-and-do-not-receive-holidays-survey/>

⁸ Yuen, Carain. 2016. “Tough Times for Nepalese Domestic Workers Revealed.” *The Standard*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thestandard.com.hk/section-news/section/11/174367/Tough-times-for-Nepalese-domestic-workers-revealed>.

⁹ Lai, Catherine. 2016. “Almost Half of Nepalese Domestic Workers Are Underpaid and Do Not Receive Holidays – Survey.” *Hong Kong Free Press*. Retrieved from: <https://hongkongfp.com/2016/09/27/almost-half-of-nepalese-domestic-workers-are-underpaid-and-do-not-receive-holidays-survey/>.

Table 2.8: MDW Sample Distribution by Region, District, and Area

Region	%
Hong Kong Island	26.5
Kowloon	38.8
The New Territories	34.7

District	%
Central and Western	16.2
Wan Chai	10.4
Kowloon City	3.7
Kwun Tong	8.3
Sham Shui Po	4.5
Wong Tai Sin	5.7
Yau Tsim Mong	16.6
Northern	8.2
Sai Kung	5.5
Sha Tin	9.4
Tsuen Wan	4.2
Tuen Mun	4.4
Kwai Tsing	3.0

Area	%
Tamar Park	2.6
Statue Square	15.0
Victoria Park	8.9
Carpenter Road Park	3.7
Laguna Park	4.3
Kwun Tong Promenade	3.9
Sham Shui Po Park	4.5
Kowloon Park	22.3
Shek Wu Hui Jockey Club Playground	2.4
North District Park	5.8
Tseung Kwan O Plaza	3.2
Nan Fung Plaza	2.3
Ma On Shan park	4.0
Sha Tin Park	5.4
Lo Tak Ct	4.4
Tuen Mun Park	4.3
Tsing Yi Park	2.9

The sample size by location for each of the Filipina and Indonesian MDW samples was determined by direct observation. The field team established the area size of a location and calculated an estimate of the number of foreign domestic workers gathering there. Larger areas such as Victoria Park tend to have higher concentrations of MDWs as they can accommodate bigger groups of people. To ensure enumerators randomly sampled MDWs in a given location, the research team calculated a sampling interval (N) by dividing the total estimated number of MDWs in the selected sample location and by the planned sample size for that location.

Once the sampling interval was determined, enumerators were assigned a starting point (see Figure 2.11) and approached every Nth respondent (according to the interval) to determine eligibility. If the Nth respondent refused the request to participate in the study, the enumerator would approach the next potential respondent. For example, if the sample interval was 13 and the 13th person refused, the enumerator would approach the 14th person. The survey process stopped once the enumerators reached the total sample size.

Figure 2.10: Map of MDW Sample Distribution Percentage by Location



Figure 2.11: Example of Starting Points in Victoria Park, Wan Chai



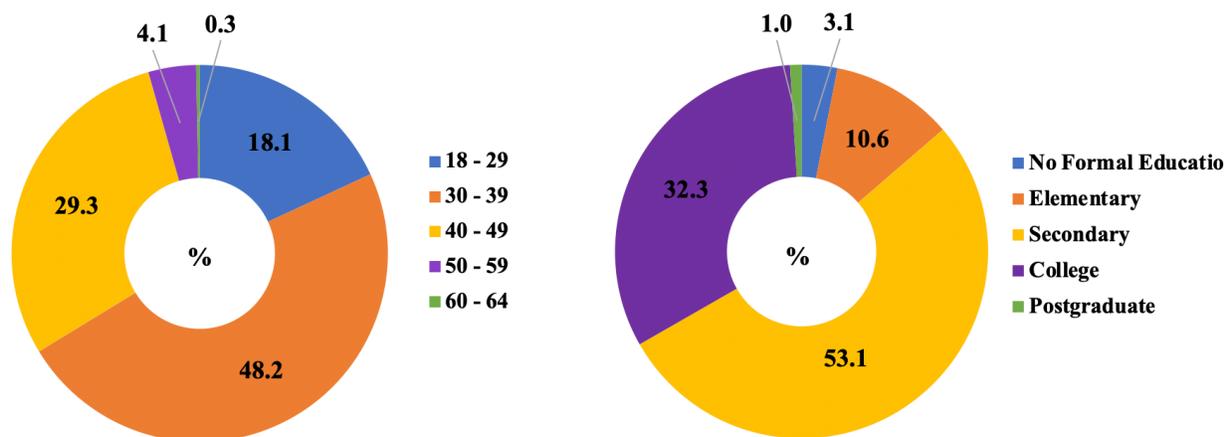
Since the Nepali community of domestic workers in Hong Kong is so small, Nepali MDWs were recruited through a referral process. The research team recruited a Nepali enumerator who found contacts through community networks, and scheduled time for to conduct the survey. Surveys of Nepali MDWs also took place in public parks.

Upon the approach of an eligible respondent, the enumerator introduced themselves as a representative working on behalf of the University of California, Berkeley to conduct a survey on the recruitment and working conditions of domestic workers in Hong Kong. If the selected respondent agreed to participate, the enumerator evaluated their eligibility by checking their age, confirming they are currently working in Hong Kong, and confirming their nationality as either Filipino, Indonesian, or Nepali. Once eligibility was confirmed, the enumerator proceeded with informed consent and handed over the tablet for the respondent to self-administer the survey in their preferred language. The survey was available in Nepali, Bahasa, Tagalog, English, and Cantonese. To address literacy issues, MDWs were also given the option to have the survey administered by an enumerator in English or Cantonese. The enumerator remained close enough to the respondent to provide assistance when necessary.

Demographic Distribution of Sample, MDW

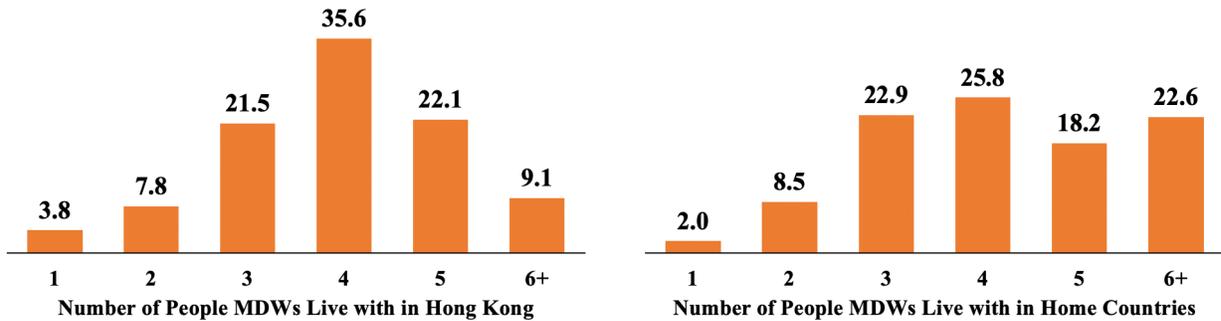
The ages of the MDWs we interviewed ranged from 21 to 64 with the average age being 36 years old (Figure 2.12). Over half of the MDW respondents have completed secondary education and 32% have completed college or university level education (Figure 2.12). 63% of the respondents are married and 25% identified as never married (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.12: Age and Educational Attainment, MDW Sample



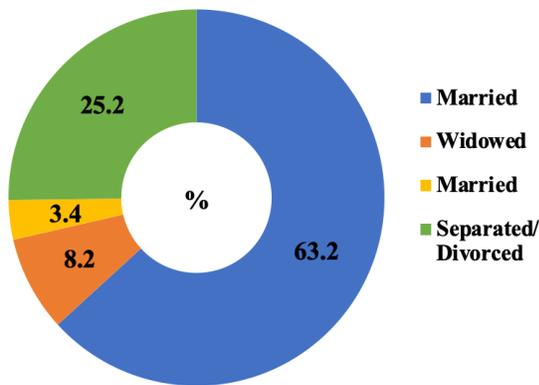
Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (age: n = 1,039; nationality: n = 1,031).

Figure 2.13: Number of People MDWs Live with in Hong Kong and in Home Countries



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (Hong Kong: n = 808; home countries: n = 771).

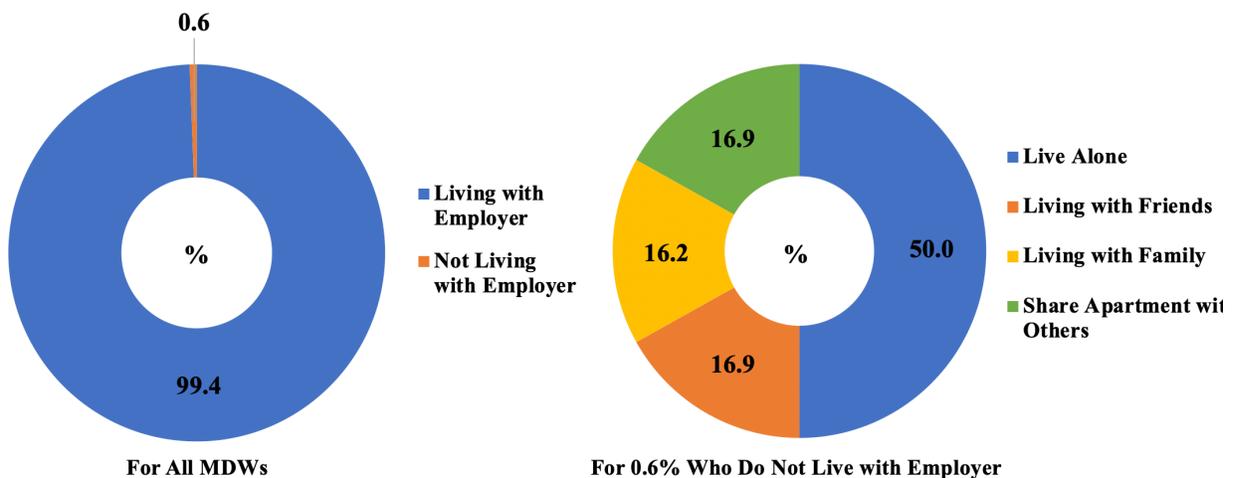
Figure 2.14: Marital Status, MDW Sample



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 1,030).

In terms of family and household characteristics, in Hong Kong most MDWs live in households of three to five people, with 4 being the modal response (36%) (Figure 2.13). While this is similar to household characteristics in their home countries, a larger portion of MDWs have bigger households in their home country than they do in Hong Kong (Figure 2.13). In Hong Kong, almost all (99.4%) of MDWs report living with their employer (Figure 2.15). This high percentage is due to the legal live-in requirement. For the six MDWs who report not living with their employer, half live alone (Figure 2.15). Table 2.9 shows the distribution of areas where MDWs report living.

Figure 2.15: MDW Living Arrangements in Hong Kong and for MDWs Not Living with Employer



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (living arrangements: n = 1,036; those not living with employer: n = 6).

Table 2.9: Districts where MDWs Report Living in Hong Kong

District	%	District	%
Central and Western	6.9	Islands	1.2
Eastern	6.5	Kwai Tsing	4.8
Southern	2.3	North	5.1
Wan Chai	4.9	Sai Kung	9.0
Sham Shui Po	3.9	Sha Tin	11.6
Kowloon City	8.7	Tai Po	3.6
Kwun Tong	7.6	Tsuen Wan	5.3
Wong Tai Sin	3.6	Tuen Mun	6.0
Yau Tsim Mong	6.0	Yuen Long	2.9

Note: Base is all weighted MDWs (n = 1,040).

Figure 2.16: Number of People in Immediate Family, MDWs



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (living arrangements: n = 767). Average and median are both 4 people.

The average monthly income of an MDW's family in their home country was 4,162 HKD (Table 2.10) with an average family size of four people (Figure 2.16). The average monthly salary amongst MDWs in Hong Kong was 4,463 HKD per month (Table 2.11). At the time of the survey, the minimum wage for domestic workers in Hong Kong was 4520 HKD per month for contracts signed before September 28, 2019 and 4630 HKD per month for contracts signed after.

Table 2.10: Family's Monthly Household Cash Income in Home Country (in HKD)

Household Income	%	Cumulative %
Below HK\$ 1,000	8.6	8.6
HK\$ 1,000 - 1,999	17.2	25.9
HK\$ 2,000 - 2,999	25.4	51.3
HKD 3,000 - 3,999	15.3	66.6
HKD 4,000 - 4,999	15.0	81.7
HKD 5,000 - 9,999	10.7	92.4
HKD 10,000 or above	7.6	100.0
Average	HK\$ 4,162	
Median	HK\$ 2,700	

Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 547). Average excludes outliers (n = 1) that were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean.

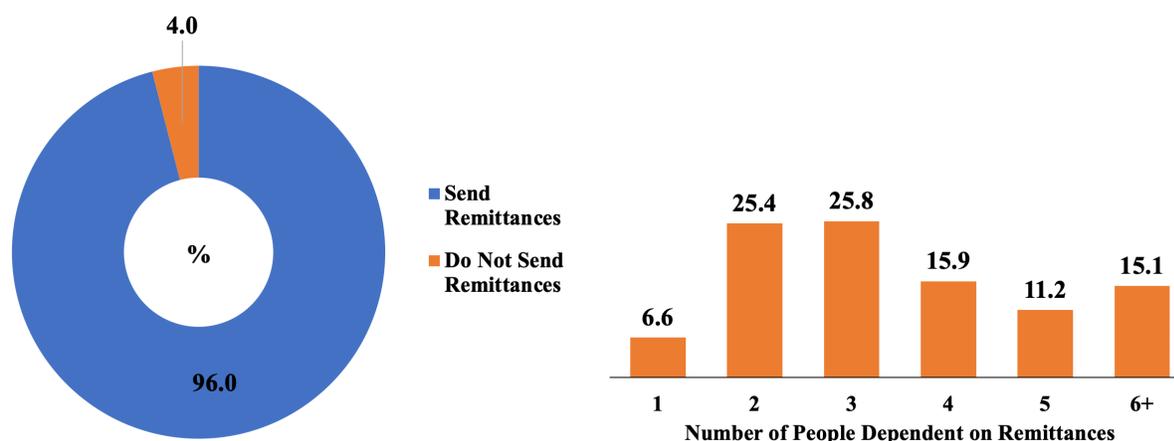
Table 2.11: Average Monthly Personal Income (in HKD)

Household Income	%	Cumulative %
Below HK\$ 3,500	3.9	3.9
HK\$ 3,500-4,499	12.0	15.9
HK\$ 4,500-4,999	76.2	92.1
HK\$ 5,000-5,499	6.0	98.1
HKD 5,500-6,499	1.4	99.5
HKD 6,500 or above	0.5	100.0
Average	HK\$ 4,463	
Median	HK\$ 4,520	

Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 785). Average excludes outliers (n = 1) that were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean. The minimum monthly wage for domestic migrant workers was raised from 4,520 HKD to 4,630 HKD on September 28, 2019. The current minimum wage is applied to any contract signed on or after September 28, 2019.

Almost all (96%) of MDWs reported that they send money back to their home country (Figure 2.17), and 78% of them indicated that there were two to five people back home who were dependent on this money (Figure 2.17). On average, MDWs sent home about 55% of their monthly income (Figure 2.18), which underscores a high level of dependence on MDW income (Figure 2.19). Consequently, when MDWs experience economic vulnerability or job loss, it can have devastating effects on their family and the economy of their home-country.

Figure 2.17: MDW Remittances Home and Number of People Dependent on Remittances

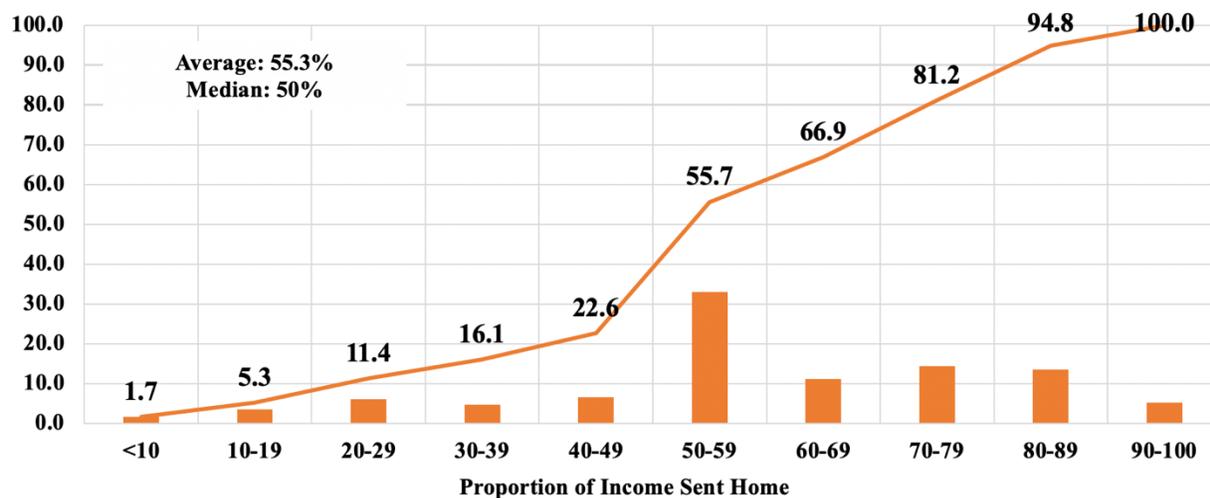


Note: Base for whether MDW sends remittances home is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n=979); base for number of people dependent on remittances at home is weighted MDWs for whom question is relevant excluding those who refused to answer (n=615).

More than 90% of the MDWs' employers were Hong Kongers, and 3% of them were from Mainland China. Many of the MDWs (32%) have worked as domestic workers in other countries (Figure 2.20), and of that subset about 30% had worked in Singapore, followed by Taiwan (11%), the Middle East (9%), Saudi Arabia (9%), and Dubai (6%) (Figure 2.20). The average amount of time that MDW respondents had been working

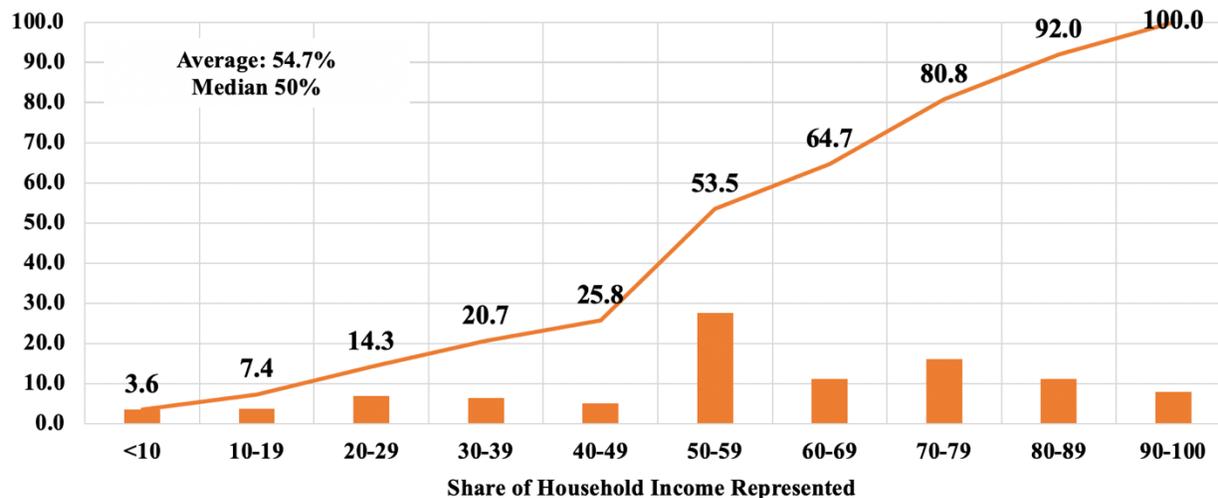
in Hong Kong was 5 years (Figure 2.21), and the longest amount of time was 28 years. The vast majority of the MDWs (89%) responded that they have access to a mobile phone (Figure 2.22). Mobile phone access is an important tool for MDWs in Hong Kong, as it facilitates contact with family in their home country, as well as with other MDWs. MDWs have also reported employers mistreating them by confiscating or limiting their access to a mobile phone.

Figure 2.18: Proportion of Income Sent Home Per Month



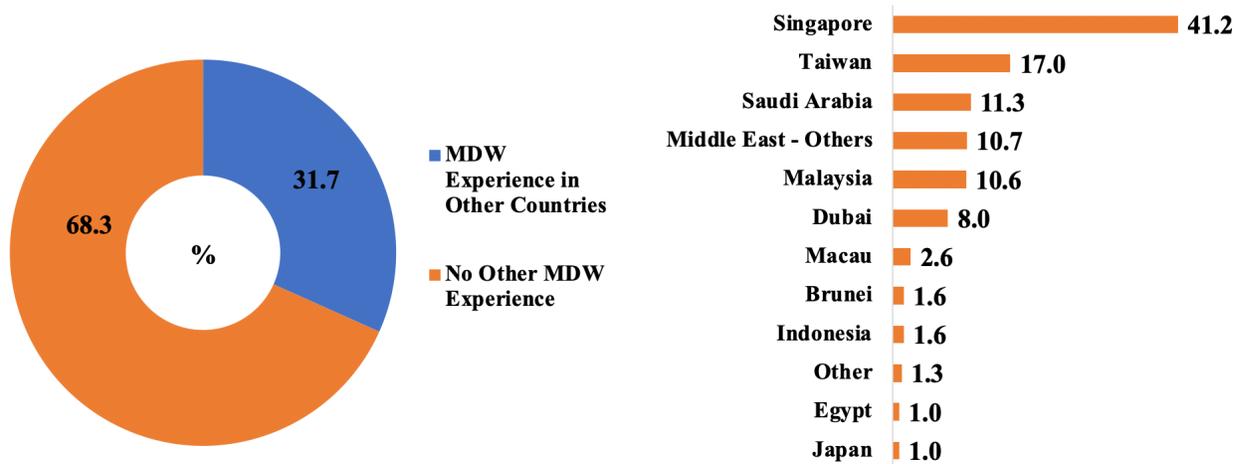
Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 660). Average excludes outliers (n = 2) that were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean.

Figure 2.19: Share of Household Income Represented



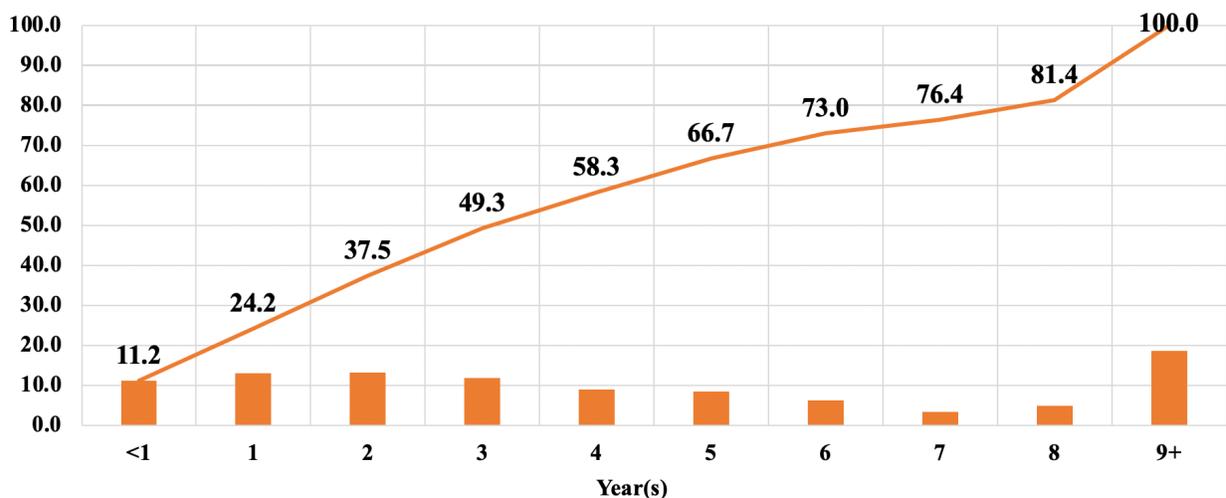
Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n=562); ^average excludes outliers (n=0), which were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean.

Figure 2.20: MDW Experience in Other Countries, and Countries in Which MDWs Have Worked



Note: Base for whether MDW has worked as domestic worker in other country is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 968). Base for other countries in which MDWs have worked is weighted MDWs for whom question was relevant, excluding those who refused to answer (n = 304).

Figure 2.21: Amount of Time MDWs Have Been Working in Hong Kong

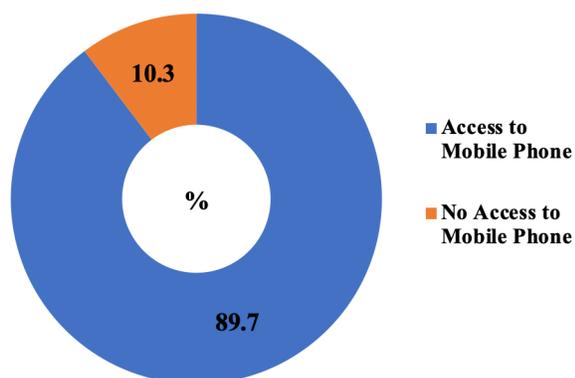


Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n=914); ^average excludes outliers (n = 25), which were 2.5 standard deviations from the mean.

MDW Response Rate

The response rate of the MDW study was 34.2%, and among those who started the survey, 96.5% completed the survey (see Table 2.12). The response rate for this survey was high compared to other street intercept surveys conducted in Hong Kong by the field team, which generally have response rates between 10-15%. The higher rate may be related to the fact that we were recruiting migrant domestic workers, and this is a population that is particularly motivated to participate in a survey that addresses their labor conditions.

Figure 2.22: MDW Access to Mobile Phone



Note: Base is weighted MDWs excluding those who refused to answer (n = 950).

Table 2.12: MDW Response Rate

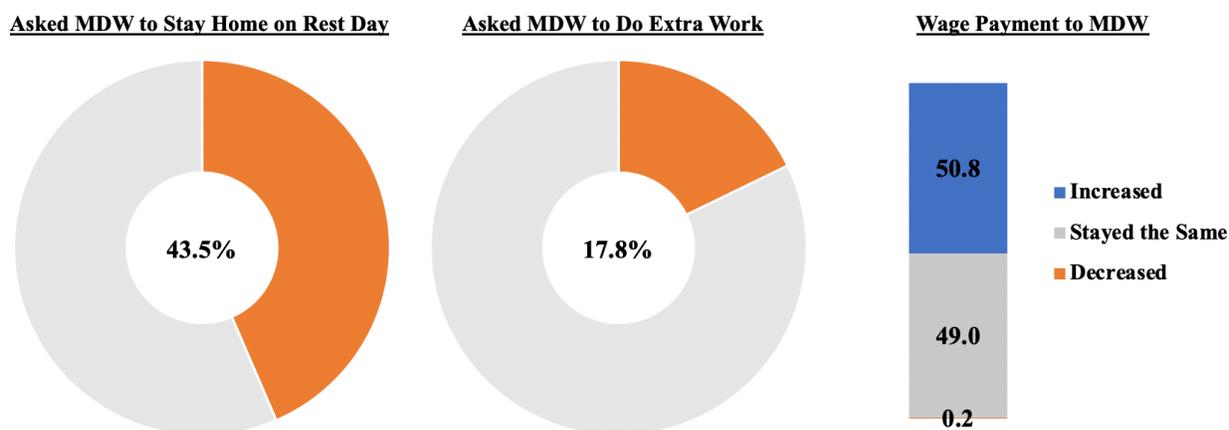
MDW	
Refuse	1,857
Drop Out	38
Voided Cases	2
Completes	1,040
Total Approached	3,153
Valid Response Rate	34.2%
Completion Rate	96.5%

Note: Total approached = completes + refusals + drop-out cases + screen-out/ineligible cases. Valid response rate = (completes + drop-out cases) / total approached. Completion rate = completes / (completes + drop-out cases).

II. The Effects of COVID-19 on General Population and MDW Respondents

In order to better understand the effects of COVID-19 on employment behavior, we asked employers and MDWs to report changes in employment conditions since the onset of the pandemic. Figure 2.23 shows that 43.5% of employers asked their MDW to stay home on their rest day, while 17.8% asked them to do extra work. Just over half of the employers surveyed report increasing their MDW’s wages during this time.

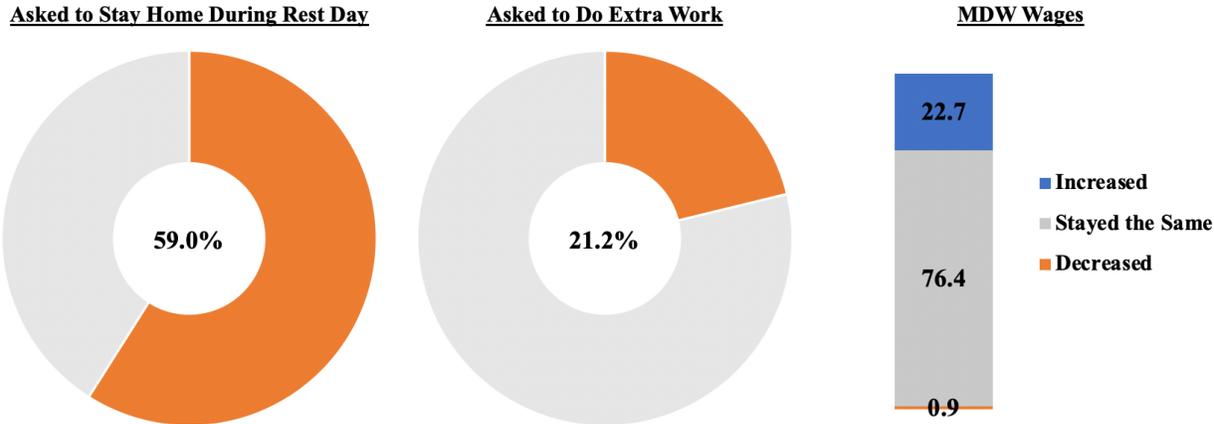
Figure 2.23: Reported Changes to MDW Employment Conditions During COVID-19, Employers



Note: Base is general population respondents who are currently employing MDWs in Hong Kong (n = 999).

According to MDWs, over 21% reported that their employer asked them to do extra work since the outbreak of COVID-19, and over 59% of MDWs were asked to stay home on their rest day (Figure 2.24). For most MDWs, their salary has remained the same or increased during that same time frame. Only 22.7% of the workers experienced an increase in their wages during this time (Figure 2.24), despite over half of the employers reporting that they increased their MDW’s wages during this time (Figure 2.24).

Figure 2.24: Reported Changes to MDW Employment Conditions During COVID-19, MDWs



Note: Base is respondents currently working as MDWs in Hong Kong (n = 1,040).

III. Study Design

A. Survey and Treatment

Questionnaire Design

Our data sources for both the general population and MDW study are based on a survey questionnaire with the following four parts:¹⁰

1. Basic demographic questions that provide a general description of the study sample.
2. Immediately following these modules, individuals were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: (1) the narrative video treatment, (2) the fact-based treatment, or (3) the control.
3. Immediately following receipt of either treatment condition (or non-receipt in the case of those assigned to the control condition), respondents were asked a set of post-treatment survey questions focused on collecting information on vulnerability to forced labor. As stated above, this study is designed to measure the impact of awareness campaigns about forced labor on knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) related to forced labor, from the perspectives of both migrant

¹⁰Questions are based on those laid out in the Pre-Analysis Plan. There may be small discrepancies between the questions in the PAP and those used in the final survey. These discrepancies are due to feedback from piloting that resulted in changes of wording. Some questions were also cut due to the need to shorten the survey.

workers (supply) and the general population (demand). As such, we collected data on the following outcome variables in order to measure various aspects of knowledge, attitudes, and practices pertaining to forced labor: (1) respondent knowledge of exploitative labor conditions (Knowledge), (2) empathy towards victims of exploitation (Attitudes, Practices), (3) knowledge towards prevalence and type of abuse (Knowledge), and (4) concern for abuse (Attitudes, Practices).

Interventions and Randomization

In order to examine the effects of mass-media campaigns on KAP, MDWs and members of the general public were randomly assigned to be either in the control group (and receive no awareness campaign or fact-based treatment), the narrative video treatment group (and receive an video campaign telling the story of an MDW in Hong Kong), or the fact-based treatment group (and receive a single-page pamphlet with information about MDWs and their rights and working conditions). We thus have true control groups in each survey to compare our treatment groups in order to estimate the effects of both of our treatments. Rather than pre-assigning a respondent to the treatment or control group, the survey was programmed to assign a respondent to one of the three groups using a module in the survey software. Since the assignment was computerized, it could not be manipulated by the interviewer. As such, we achieved near equal number of respondents in each treatment group. Note that with random assignment, the goal is not to have exactly the same number of individuals assigned to each group. Rather, each individual should be assigned to a group with equal probability, and with a large enough sample size, there should be near equivalence in the number of individuals in each treatment group.

The flow diagram (Figures 2.25 and 2.26) below provides details on the study’s enrollment, allocation, and analysis procedure. The allocation of the treatments took place on the same day as the survey, following the pre-survey and preceding the post-survey.

Figure 2.25: Flow Diagram, General Population Sample

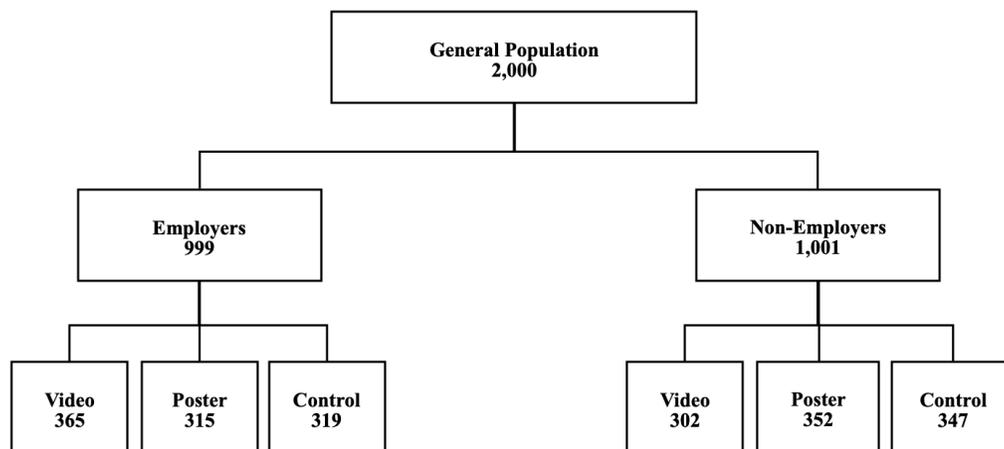
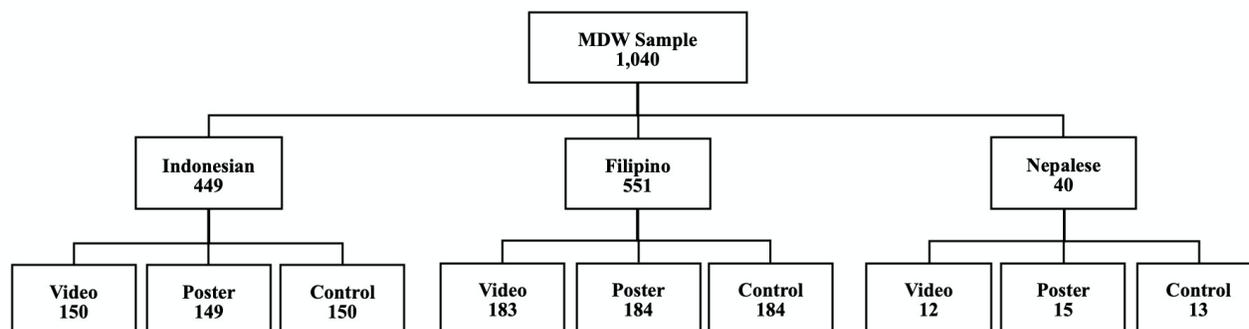


Figure 2.26: Flow Diagram, MDW Sample



Treatment Development

The treatments were designed and developed based on an extensive assessment of the media campaign landscape in Hong Kong and consultation with local media and advocacy experts. This assessment considered the forms of media that are most accessible to the population as well as new approaches to awareness campaigns that are entering the media market and previous research conducted by the research team on mass-media efficacy in Nepal.¹¹ Based on this assessment, the team developed content on MDW rights and labor conditions for a fact-based campaign in the form of a pamphlet and a narrative video campaign that told the story of an MDW working in Hong Kong. The story was a composite of real-life experiences reported by MDWs and collected by members of the research team in combination with case files from MDW advocacy organizations and media reports on MDWs. Both campaign formats were extensively piloted with community organizations, including MDW unions and advocacy groups.

Both the MDW and the general population received the same information campaigns, with the intent of fostering greater perspective-taking, as well as awareness of worker rights and regulations. Versions of the campaigns were available to respondents in the main language spoken by the MDW and general population samples, including English, Cantonese, Bahasa, Tagalog, and Nepalese. The treatments are described separately below:

Fact-Based Treatment: The fact-based treatment takes the form of a single-page pamphlet designed to replicate the types of posters and pamphlets currently used to increase awareness around issues of forced labor, often distributed by the government, employment agencies, or NGOs.¹² The pamphlet has information about the rights and conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong (Figure 2.27). The facts included in the pamphlet reflected the main topics and challenges identified in the interviews conducted with MDWs of various national identities in Hong Kong.

¹¹For more information on the assessment of media campaign landscape in Nepal and treatment design, see Chapter 2 of Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." USAID Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MBT4.pdf

¹² Such posters include pictures of different types of forced labor victims, and provide some basic facts about who could be a victim, and where human trafficking is likely to occur. They might also include contact information for receiving assistance, reporting suspected forced labor problems, or gathering additional knowledge and trainings on the issue.

Figure 2.27: English Version of Pamphlet

Domestic workers should keep a daily log of their duties, including: the date, how many hours they work each day, how much time they are given off, what food they are given, and any instances of abuse.

This will help provide evidence if employers violate the contract.





No one deserves physical or verbal abuse from their employer. Abuse of any form is also illegal. Whether you are a domestic worker yourself, an employer, or even a neighbor, if you see a worker being mistreated, say something.

Situations can become worse if people are not held accountable.

Domestic workers are entitled to move freely in Hong Kong, contact their families, and practice their religion.

Workers are entitled to 24 consecutive hours of rest per week, as well as all statutory holidays and paid annual leave.

Get informed & get involved!

Enrich (financial education):	+852 2386 5811
Indonesian Trade Workers Union:	+852 6992 0878
Ipsos (survey contact):	+852 2881 5388
Hong Kong Labour Department:	+852 2717 1771/2157 9537
Hong Kong Police Emergency Services:	999
Hong Kong Police Hotline:	+852 2527 7177
Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Union:	+852 2770 8668
Philippine Overseas Labour Office:	+852 5529 1880
Philippine Overseas Workers Welfare Admin.:	+852 6345 9324

Imagine Hong Kong Without Us



A fact sheet about Foreign Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

There are about 400,000 foreign domestic workers currently working in Hong Kong.



Domestic workers are entitled to keep their passports and personal belongings like cell phones.

The minimum wage for domestic workers is 4520 HKD per month for contracts signed before September 28, 2019, and 4630 HKD per month for contracts signed after.

Workers are entitled to their own sleeping space, or one shared with a child of the same gender.



Ask questions to find out about all costs as soon as possible. According to Hong Kong law, placement fees cannot be more than 10% of the domestic worker's first month's salary.



It is vital that domestic workers understand all paperwork they sign, especially the standardized employment contract.

Make sure the 'schedule of duties' section is filled in before signing. Both employers and workers are bound to this contract and workers can refuse to do any tasks not specified there.



Domestic workers should have three full, nutritious meals a day, or sufficient allowance to buy food themselves.

Be careful when borrowing money. Workers can get advice through organizations like Enrich to avoid taking out loans.

Narrative Video Treatment:¹³ The campaign video treatment simulates a television show, and presents a graphic animation with a voiceover. The video tells the story of a composite MDW character, following her through each stage of the migration process, from seeking employment in her home country, to going through training, to arriving in Hong Kong, to beginning to work with her employer, and through having issues arise with her employment. The video uses an “empowerment” narrative to emphasize the individual agency of the MDW character. We chose to use an empowerment appeal because previous research on mass-media efficacy found empowerment appeals to be more effective than fear based appeals, which use negative frames to underscore the terrifying realities of forced labor.¹⁴ The story highlights the main challenges of MDWs that were identified in preliminary interviews conducted with MDWs of various national identities in Hong Kong.

B. Hypotheses

The following 14 hypotheses outline our outcomes of interests noted in our pre-analysis plan, and were tested in this study:

1. Hypothesis 1: Exposure to the awareness campaign materials will increase **knowledge of MDWs’ working conditions among both MDWs and the general population.**
2. Hypothesis 2: Exposure to the awareness campaign materials will increase **knowledge of MDWs’ rights among both MDWs and the general population.**
3. Hypothesis 3: Exposure to the awareness campaign materials will increase **prioritization of MDW working conditions and rights** among both MDWs and the general population.
4. Hypothesis 4: Exposure to awareness campaign materials will increase **sympathy towards MDWs** among MDWs and the general population.
5. Hypothesis 5: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the general population depending on **whether a family employs an MDW.**
6. Hypothesis 6: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among both the general population and MDWs depending on **socioeconomic status (including education).**
7. Hypothesis 7: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the general population on **gender.**

¹³ As noted in the project revision form which was approved by DOL in April 2018, we stated that we would use the more effective appeal from our research in Nepal in this subsequent study in Hong Kong. The video is available to view on the HTV website: <http://www.empatheticmedia.com/htv-research/>

¹⁴ Apanovitch, A. M., McCarthy, D., and Salovey, P. 2003. “Using Message Framing to Motivate HIV Testing Among Low-Income, Ethnic Minority Women.” *Health Psychology*, 22(1), 60 - 67; Bandura, A. 2000. “Exercise of Human Agency through Collective Efficacy.” *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9(3), 75 - 78; Ruitter, R. A., Abraham, C., and Kok, G. 2001. “Scary Warnings and Rational Precautions: A Review of the Psychology of Fear Appeals.” *Psychology and Health*, 16(6), 613 - 630.; Witte, K., and Allen, M. 2000. “A meta-analysis of fear appeals: Implications for effective public health campaigns.” *Health Education and Behavior*, 27(5), 591 - 615.

8. Hypothesis 8: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among both the general population and MDWs depending on **nationality**.
9. Hypothesis 9: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the MDWs depending on **age**.
10. Hypothesis 10: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the MDWs depending on **length of time working as an MDW in Hong Kong**. Specifically, among the MDW population, exposure to the awareness campaign materials will result in a lesser increase in knowledge among MDWs who have worked in Hong Kong for a longer period of time, as they will have greater knowledge about the rights and regulations surrounding MDW employment in Hong Kong to begin with.
11. Hypothesis 11: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the MDWs depending on **length of time working as an MDW anywhere**. Specifically, among the MDW population, exposure to the awareness campaign materials will result in a lesser increase in knowledge among MDWs who have worked as an MDW for a longer period of time, as they will have greater knowledge about the rights and regulations surrounding MDW employment to begin with.
12. Hypothesis 12: There will be heterogeneous treatment effects among the MDWs depending on whether or not they display any characteristics of vulnerability to forced labor. Specifically, MDWs who are characterized as having medium or strong vulnerability to forced labor will have less knowledge of their rights to begin with, and will show higher increases in knowledge upon exposure to the treatments. We will measure vulnerability to forced labor with adaptation of “Hard to See, Harder to Count” measures included in the survey instrument document.
13. Hypothesis 13: Overall, the narrative treatment will result in greater shifts in knowledge, attitudes and practices pertaining to forced labor than the poster. We will measure these differences by comparing treatment effects of the narrative versus the poster.
14. Hypothesis 14: There will be no statistically significant cross-country differences between the **effects of fact-based brochure information campaigns, and narrative format information campaigns on knowledge, sympathy, or prioritization**.

C. Statistical Methods

Experimental Design

In this study, we implemented a randomized controlled trial experimental design. Respondents were randomly assigned either to a control group, or one of 2 treatment groups described above through the Ifield survey platform. Given that random assignment was programmed within our survey platform, the population in each of the four conditions was similar on all dimensions, except for receipt of the treatment.

In order to verify that the randomization procedure was successful, we tested whether there was balance among key pre-treatment variables across all treatment conditions. Namely, we collected data on a number

of demographic and professional characteristics prior to the respondent being treated with the intervention. Table 1 in the Appendix shows our randomization procedure was successful in balancing these key demographic and professional characteristics. As described below, while unnecessary, we also controlled for these variables in our model specification to increase the precision of our estimates.

Model Specifications

General Population Survey: Per our pre-analysis plan, we conducted a linear regression analysis with standard errors clustered at the district-level and a vector of demographic controls to improve the precision of our estimates.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_T T_i + \gamma \Gamma_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i denotes our outcome measures of interest, T_i is a vector of binary variables describing the treatment condition. Γ_i denotes a vector of demographic controls (e.g., gender, age, nationality, marital status, and education-level). Finally, ϵ_i is the error term.

We also explored the possibility of heterogeneous treatment effects by nationality and employment of MDW. Additionally, whether a family employs an MDW can greatly affect their knowledge of rights and regulations surrounding the rights, as well as working conditions of MDWs. As such, it is informative to know whether there are heterogeneous treatment effects dependent on these factors.

We conducted a series of subgroup analyses, assessing the treatment effect by a number of factors, including nationality, employment of MDW, and respondent gender. We also considered a specification that adds an interaction term to the main analyses. Namely, we estimated:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_T T_i + \beta_G G_i + \beta_{TG} T_i G_i + \gamma \Gamma_i + \epsilon_i$$

where G_i denotes our moderator variable (e.g., nationality, employment of MDW). Again, our standard errors were clustered at the district level, and we included a vector of demographic controls to improve the precision of our estimates.

MDW Survey: Per our pre-analysis plan, we conducted a linear regression with standard errors clustered at the park-level and a vector of demographic controls to improve the precision of our estimates.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_T T_i + \gamma \Gamma_i + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i denotes our outcome measures of interest, T_i is a vector of binary variables describing the treatment condition. Γ_i denotes a vector of demographic controls (e.g., gender, age, nationality, marital status, and education-level). Finally, ϵ_i is the error term.

We also explored the possibility of heterogeneous treatment effects by nationality and length of time in Hong Kong. Different nationalities of MDWs intermingle very infrequently, and as such, tend to have very

different group characteristics. Additionally, the length of time that different MDWs have been in Hong Kong varies greatly, from a few months to a number of decades, with MDWs that have been here for longer often having much better knowledge of the rights and regulations surrounding employment of MDWs, as well as greater ability to advocate for themselves. As such, it is informative to know whether there are heterogeneous treatment effects dependent on these factors.

We conducted a series of subgroup analyses, assessing the treatment effect by a number of factors, including nationality and length of time in Hong Kong. We also considered a specification that adds an interaction term to the main analyses. Namely, we estimated:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_T T_i + \beta_G G_i + \beta_{TG} T_i G_i + \gamma I_i + \epsilon_i$$

where G_i denotes our moderator variable (e.g., nationality and length of time in Hong Kong). Again, our standard errors were clustered at the park level, and we included a vector of demographic controls to improve the precision of our estimates.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the samples and research designs for the general population and migrant domestic worker studies. It also discussed the impact of the COVID-19 on respondents. Chapter 3 will provide baseline descriptive statistics for the general population and MDW populations as it pertains to their knowledge of MDW rights and policies as well as attitudes towards and sympathy for MDWs for both the general population and MDW surveys. For the general population survey, it will describe the differences in responses on these key variables between the employer and non-employer subgroups. For the MDW study, it will describe differences between nationality groups. Chapter 4 will discuss the treatment effects on these respective groups in regard to the aforementioned KAP outcome variables.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, PART 1

Baseline Information on General Population and MDW Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices around Labor Rights, Forced Labor and Human Trafficking

I. Introduction

This chapter presents baseline information about the knowledge, attitudes, and practices (KAP) pertaining to forced labor and human trafficking of the general population and migrant domestic worker (MDW) populations in Hong Kong. We also situate our findings in the study of the Hong Kong general population by comparing our results to that of a similar study conducted among the general population in Nepal.¹

In the general population survey, results confirmed that there are differences in baseline knowledge of the rights and working conditions of MDWs between employers and non-employers. We differentiate between employers and non-employers based on the assumption that these groups may have significantly different KAP regarding MDWs in Hong Kong. Additionally, employers' attitudes are of particular significance as their actions are most directly related to the well-being of MDWs in Hong Kong. It is also important to look at the KAP of non-employers as a group because they can serve as a significant source of assistance in reporting abuse cases if they observe it in their communities. We also look at differences in responses by gender, education level, and age group.² We found that overall, employers were more knowledgeable than non-employers in regard to issues, rights, and working conditions of MDWs. In terms of attitudes, the general population generally held more moderate views when it came to prioritizing MDW conditions and the scope of labor exploitation of MDWs. General population respondents also expressed fairly high overall levels of sympathy for MDWs that experienced abuse and a low tolerance for behaviors that could be perceived as abusive towards MDWs. Interestingly, however, employers were more likely to rank abusive behaviors as more acceptable than non-employers.

Additionally, we report on the same outcome variables for the MDW data. When providing descriptions of the population as a whole, we report on the weighted averages based on the workers' nationalities — Indonesian, Filipina, and Nepali--that reflect the true composition of MDWs by nationality in Hong Kong. We also describe the baseline levels separately for Indonesian and Filipina workers, as they are the largest two MDW groups in Hong Kong, and workers from Indonesia and the Philippines likely have different networks and state support based on their countries of origin. As with the general population data, we

¹ The data comes from a previous study that used the same methodology to test the efficacy of anti-trafficking campaigns in Nepal. For details on the Nepal study please see: Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series, USAID. Retrieved from: <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/DFG-Vanderbilt-Publication>.

² For the general population data, we followed the categorization by the Pew Research Center (see <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/>). When examining differences across age, we specifically look at the differences across generational cohorts: Generation Z and millennials, who are between the ages of 18 and 39; Generation X who are between the ages of 40 and 55; and the Boomers, who are between the ages of 56 and 74. For the MDW data, we divided the sample into those who are 35 or younger, who consist of 49% of the sample, and those who are at least 36 years old, who consist of the remaining 51%.

examine if there are differences in the MDWs' baseline KAP based on gender and age group.³ While we do not report differences by education level, we assess if there are differences based on the number of years that a respondent has worked as an MDW.⁴

Results show that MDWs, on average, had relatively high levels of knowledge about MDW working conditions and the various legal requirements that they are expected to fulfill compared to the general population respondents. In terms of attitudes, MDWs were likely to view the problem of labor exploitation and human trafficking as more prevalent in Hong Kong and expressed a higher need for the government to prioritize these issues compared to the general population. Yet, compared to the general population respondents, MDWs noted lower levels of sympathy toward foreign domestic workers who have been victims of both labor abuse and sexual abuse. Interestingly, MDWs reported high levels of willingness to take action against labor abuse, by calling the police in situations that they perceive as labor abuse and by talking to their family and friends about these issues. Comparing MDWs based on their nationality also revealed notable findings. Filipina MDWs tended to have higher levels of knowledge and perceived problems of labor abuse as more prevalent than their Indonesian counterparts. This may be a result of differences between training and orientation that occurs in the home-country as well as learning that may take place among workers from the same country in Hong Kong. Another important finding is that MDWs had higher tolerance than the general population for behaviors associated with the mistreatment of MDWs and their tolerance levels rose with more years of experience working as MDWs in the country. This may suggest that repeated forms of abuse may lead workers to increasingly accept abusive behaviors.

In the last section of the chapter we look at the cross country comparisons of baseline knowledge and attitudes regarding forced labor and trafficking. In this section, we found that the Nepali general population has higher levels of knowledge prior to seeing an awareness campaign than the Hong Kong general population does.

II. Results: Baseline Information

A. Weighting

For the general population survey, descriptive statistics are presented by an individual's status as a current employer or non-employer of an MDW (see Table 3.1).⁵ Values are reported as weighted averages. As we oversampled on employers in order to effectively compare differences between employers' and non-employers' KAP, we weighted the reported baseline statistics for estimates of the overall general

³ For the MDW data, we divided the sample into those who are 35 or younger, who consist of 48.5% of the sample, and those who are at least 36 years old, who consist of the remaining 51.5% of the sample. We do not use the same categorization as the one we used for the general population data in consideration of the differences in the age distribution of the two populations.

⁴ We report differences between MDWs who have less than four years of experience (49.4%) and those with at least 4 years of experience (50.6%). The cutoff of four years was chosen because it is the median years of working experience among MDWs in our sample. Note that 73.5% of the workers surveyed indicated that they submitted their contracts to the Hong Kong immigration department, which may serve as a proxy for legality of their working status; among those working legally, the median of years of work experience was also four years.

⁵ For the purpose of this study a former employer of an MDW who is not currently employing an MDW is categorized as a non-employer.

population. Weighted tabulations reflect the actual representation of employers to non-employers in Hong Kong, with 14% of Hong Kong residents being employers and 86% being non-employers (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Random Iterative Method Weighting Factors, General Population

	Population	Included in Sample	Weighting Factor
Currently Employers of MDWs	14%	50%	0.28
Currently Not Employers of MDWs	86%	50%	1.72

For the MDW survey, descriptive statistics are presented by an individual’s national identification as either Indonesian or Filipina. These are the two most dominant national groups of domestic workers in Hong Kong. When we present weighted averages for the whole sample, the 40 Nepali MDWs we survey are included in the analysis (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Random Iterative Method Weighting Factors, MDW

	Sample Size	Sample Size (%)	Population (%)	Weighting Factor*
All respondents	1,040	-	-	-
Indonesia	449	43%	43%	0.99
The Philippines	551	53%	55%	1.04
Nepal	40	4%	<2%	0.61

B. Knowledge Variables: Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations, Procedural Responses of MDWs in Hong Kong

Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations, Procedural Responses of MDWs in Hong Kong: General Population

In this section, we assess the degree to which the general population — both employers and non-employers of MDWs — know about the rights and working conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong at baseline. Then we report on the same variables for the MDW survey. Table 3.3 displays the questions used to assess knowledge levels and the correct answers. Table 3.4 reports the level of accuracy of those in the control group to measure the baseline proportion of employers and non-employers who answer the knowledge questions correctly.

Both employers and non-employers demonstrate high levels of knowledge regarding the weekly 24-hour rest day policy. This may be due to the visibility of MDWs on their day off, which many spend gathered in public spaces, such as parks, streets, and transit stations (as shown in Figure 1.3 and 1.4 in Chapter 1). For indicators related to day-to-day employment of MDWs, employers had statistically significant higher levels of knowledge than non-employers. These differences were particularly large with respect to knowledge of rules pertaining to back pay, the legal maximum for an agency placement fee, who can hold an MDW’s passport, and the minimum wage requirement. This suggests that there is room for improving the knowledge

levels of the general population, most of whom are not employers, regarding the working conditions of MDWs.

Table 3.3: Knowledge Questions and Correct Responses

Question Wording	Correct Response
1. True or false: MDWs have 24 hours of uninterrupted rest per week specified in their standard employment contracts?	True
2. True or false: individuals who are found guilty of violating the foreign domestic worker's contract by failing to pay their worker can be required to pay back pay?	True
3. True or false: the legal maximum amount that an MDW can be required to pay as a placement fee to the placement agency is 10% of their first month salary	True
4. Who can hold on to a foreign domestic worker's passport? [RESPONSE OPTIONS: Their consulate; the employment agency; their employer; only MDW]	Domestic worker only
5. OPEN RESPONSE: what is the monthly minimum wage for foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong? ⁶	HKD \$4,500 - \$4,700
6. Which of the following is true of the living space guaranteed for foreign domestic workers as stipulated in the standard employment contract?	Can share room with kids, as long as they are younger than 13 and/or same gender
7. How many hours per day does the average foreign domestic worker work? [RESPONSE OPTIONS: more than 12 hours; fewer than 12 hours]	More than 12 hours ⁷
8. True or false: MDWs must leave the country three weeks after their contract ends if they do not secure another contract.	False ⁸

Overall, employers had higher levels of knowledge on all but two measures: the length of time an MDW can stay in the country after the end of a contract (item 8) and the limit on MDW working hours (item 10). For these measures, non-employers had statistically significant higher levels of knowledge. That said, we believe that in each of these two cases, it is the framing of the questions that explains the lower levels of accurate responses for employers. For item 8, the discrepancy here is likely not that non-employers are more likely to correctly identify the answer is false based on knowledge of the actual time limit of 2 weeks. Instead, it likely reflects that employers are aware that there is a specific time limit, and focused on the question noting that there was a limit rather than the actual limit being two weeks rather than three weeks. For item 10, the false perception that there is a limit on the number of hours an MDW can work in a given day speaks positively of employers with respect to MDW treatment, as nearly all employers believed that there is a limit even though there is not one.

⁶ On September 28th 2019, the HK Government raised the minimum wage for MDWs from 4520 HKD to 4630 HKD. Given this change was made so close to the start of data collection, we consider respondents who provided an answer close to the new or old minimum wage as correct.

⁷ The correct answer is based on the following reports: (1) Lok-kei, Sum. 2019. "More than 70 Percent of Foreign of Foreign Domestic Helpers in Hong Kong Work Over 13 Hours a Day, Chinese University Survey Shows. *South China Morning Post*, February 13. Retrieved from: <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/society/article/2185976/more-70-cent-foreign-domestic-helpers-hong-kong-work-over-13>; and (2) Justice Centre Hong Kong. 2016. "Coming Clean." Retrieved from: <https://www.justicecentre.org.hk/report/comingclean/>.

⁸ Legally, an MDW must leave Hong Kong two weeks after the end of their contract unless they find another contract.

Table 3.4: Knowledge Questions and Percent of Correct Responses, General Population

Question	% Correct Responses Baseline, Weighted Total	% Correct Responses Baseline, Employers	% Correct Responses Baseline, Non-Employers
24 hours uninterrupted rest	92.9	95.9	92.4
Required to pay back pay	91.7	96.5	90.9
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	78.1	87.0	76.6
Who can hold passport	64.1	76.2	62.2
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	59.4	93.4	54.2
Living space requirements	51.9	63.5	50.1
Average hours per day	41.4	39.6	41.6
Leave country three weeks after contract	13.9	5.5	15.3
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	13.8	27.4	11.6
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	4.6	0.9	5.2

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: In terms of gender differences, both male and female groups had comparable levels of knowledge. In other words, there were no systematic differences in knowledge levels between male and female respondents.

When it comes to education levels, college-educated respondents had lower levels of knowledge than non-college-educated respondents. College-educated respondents were more likely to incorrectly answer questions on MDW working conditions. Regarding working hours (item 7), those with a higher level of education were less likely to provide the correct response, and this difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). College-educated adults were also more likely to answer the question on living space requirements (item 6) incorrectly, and the difference is statistically significant at a 0.05 significance level. Additionally, College-educated respondents had lower knowledge about who is able to hold onto a foreign domestic worker’s passport (item 4), the monthly minimum wage of MDWs (item 5), and how many migrant domestic workers there are in Hong Kong (item 9). All these differences were also statistically significant at a 0.01 significance level. Overall, results imply that individuals with higher levels of education may be more detached from the problems pertaining to MDWs, especially regarding their working conditions, which is worth further examination.

When it comes to knowledge levels, there were marginal differences across generational cohorts. Older respondents—those aged 56 to 74—were less knowledgeable (-11.6 percentage points) on the question of back pay requirements of individuals who are found to be guilty of violating the foreign domestic worker’s contract (item 2) compared to respondents aged 18 to 39. The difference was statistically significant at the 0.01 significance level. Older respondents (aged 56 to 75) were also less knowledgeable on who is able to hold onto a worker’s passport (item 4) by 9.3 percentage points, and the difference was statistically significant (p -value < 0.05). The older respondents (aged 56 to 75) were also slightly less knowledgeable about the monthly minimum wage (item 5) for workers and living space (item 6), each by 9 percentage points, compared to respondents aged 18 to 39. These differences were marginally significant.

Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations, Procedural Responses of MDWs in Hong Kong: MDWs

Next, we examine the knowledge levels of MDWs, and how they differ based on the nationality of the respondent, as shown in Table 3.5. We found that MDWs were more likely to provide correct responses on economic issues and direct working conditions, such as about the monthly minimum wage for migrant domestic workers, the legal maximum amount that they can be required to pay as a placement fee, the law surrounding back pay, the amount of rest that they are entitled to, as well as the fact that only they themselves are allowed to hold their passport. Slightly over half of the workers correctly identified that MDWs work more than 12 hours per day. However, fewer MDWs were able to correctly identify the living space requirements that are stipulated in the standard employment contract, that there are limits to working hours, and the law that mandates them to leave the country after their contract ends, and the number of MDWs in Hong Kong.

Generally, MDWs from Indonesia were less knowledgeable than MDWs from the Philippines on a number of topics. These included questions about who is allowed to hold foreign migrant workers’ passports (26.4 percentage points; p -value < 0.01), regarding the law requiring them to leave the country three weeks after their contract ends (10.8 percentage points; p -value < 0.05), the limit to the number of hours in a day of work (10.3 percentage points; p -value < 0.05), and about the living space requirements (9.5 percentage points; p -value < 0.10)⁹. Indonesian workers had higher rates of knowledge regarding back pay and the average hours per day that MDWs typically work by 12.1 and 14.1 percentage points, respectively; both of these differences were statistically significant at 0.05 significance levels. Nepalis had high levels of knowledge: all of them correctly identified indicators on minimum wage, agency fees, back pay, rest day, holding of passport, average hours of work per day, and limit to working hours. In addition, over 85% correctly indicated the number of MDWs in Hong Kong. Similar to their Filipina and Indonesian counterparts, they were unaware of living space requirements and post-contract leave policies.

⁹ Note that the tables do not include differences that are marginally (or weakly) statistically significant, in which p -values are less than 0.10 but over 0.05. We include these differences in the main text to provide a more nuanced picture of the differences.

Table 3.5: Knowledge Questions and Percent of Correct Responses, MDWs

Question	% Correct Responses Baseline, Weighted Total	% Correct Responses Baseline, Indonesia	% Correct Responses Baseline, The Philippines
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	85.2	85.1	84.7
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	80.5	81.5	78.9
Required to pay back pay	79.9	85.9	73.8
24 hours uninterrupted rest	79.9	82.2	77.2
Who can hold passport	72.8	57.1	83.5
Average hours per day	54.3	61.1	47.0
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	23.6	15.8	26.1
Living space requirements	23.5	19.0	28.5
Leave country three weeks after contract	23.4	18.2	28.9
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	19.8	16.7	16.7

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

We found that MDWs 36 years of age or older, were in general, more knowledgeable about the working conditions and legal provisions compared to younger MDWs. Older MDWs were more likely to provide the correct responses to the following three indicators: living space requirements (9.4 percentage points; p-value < 0.10), about who is allowed to hold the workers' passports (16.5 percentage points; p-value < 0.01), and about the three-week rule that requires them to leave the country after their contract ends (12.9 percentage points; p-value < 0.01). When it comes to the number of years MDWs have worked, those with at least 4 years of experience¹⁰ had higher levels of knowledge (11.6 percentage points; p-value < 0.05) about who can hold one's passport but lower levels of knowledge (11.5 percentage points; p-value < 0.10) about the average hours an MDW actually works on a given day, and the monthly minimum wage for MDWs (8.8 percentage points; p-value < 0.05). The lower knowledge levels among more experienced MDWs may reflect the fact that they went through orientation and training earlier and are basing their

¹⁰ Those with at least 4 years of experience account for 50.6 percent of the MDWs that were surveyed who answered the question about their work experience. The 4-year cutoff also represents the median of the number of years that MDWs worked as migrant workers in Hong Kong.

response on outdated information. This also suggests that awareness campaigns have a role to play in spreading information amongst MDWs about new policies and entitlements.

Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations, Procedural Responses of MDWs in Hong Kong: General Population v. MDWs

The gap in the baseline knowledge of MDWs and the general population is extremely stark. Comparing the baseline knowledge of MDWs to the general population, MDWs were more knowledgeable about the legal minimum wage for migrant workers, about who is allowed to hold onto their passport, the limit on the number of hours in a day of work, the actual number of hours that they work on average a day, about the law mandating them to leave the country three weeks after their contract expires, and about the legal maximum agency placement fee that they may be required to pay. They were also more likely to provide the correct estimate of the number of foreign domestic workers that live and work in Hong Kong. Yet, these workers had, on average, lower levels of awareness than the general population regarding some of the laws that are intended to protect them. These included the law that requires employers to pay back pay, and the 24 hours of uninterrupted rest and the living space that they are entitled to have under the standard employment contract. These findings speak to the fact that while the workers are, on average, more knowledgeable about issues that directly affect them, they are less familiar with the laws that provide them with some measures of safety and security.

C. Knowledge Variables: Knowledge of Human Trafficking

Knowledge of Human Trafficking: General Population

We asked five questions in order to assess knowledge on human trafficking, as presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Questions and Correct Responses

Question Wording	Correct Response
1. True or False: Human trafficking is a form of slavery	True
2. True or False: The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	False
3. True or False: You can't be trafficked if you knowingly entered into prostitution	False
4. True or False: Men can be trafficked	True
5. True or False: Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders	False

Overall, levels of knowledge on human trafficking among the general population were moderate. Nearly half of respondents got the answers correct across all measures. Employers had slightly higher levels of knowledge on human trafficking than non-employers, and the differences between these groups were statistically significant on measures 4 and 5 (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Knowledge of Human Trafficking, General Population

Question	% Correct Responses Baseline, Weighted Total	% Correct Responses Baseline, Employers	% Correct Responses Baseline, Non-Employers
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	75.9	78.9	75.5
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	64.5	67.1	64.1
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	57.5	60.6	57.1
Men can be trafficked	49.9	56.9	48.8
Requires movement across state or national borders	45.0	52.5	43.9

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Comparing male and female respondents, we found that male respondents had higher baseline knowledge on two of the five items used to measure knowledge of human trafficking. For example, female respondents were 11.5 percentage points more likely to say that the only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking, and this difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). Additionally, female respondents were 7.1 percentage points less knowledgeable about whether one can be trafficked if he or she knowingly entered into prostitution, although the difference was only marginally statistically significant. Overall, this suggests that among the general population, women, on average, have lower awareness around the relationship between sex trafficking and prostitution and human trafficking compared to men.

We found college-educated adults had lower knowledge around the working conditions of MDWs, our results indicate that they have higher awareness of facts concerning human trafficking. On the question of whether men can be trafficked, college-educated adults were 15.1 percentage points more knowledgeable compared to non-college educated adults. This difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). Regarding whether human trafficking is a form of slavery (item 1) and whether one can be trafficked if he or she knowingly entered into prostitution (item 3), college-educated adults were about 8 percentage points more likely to provide the correct response than non-college-educated adults, although these differences were marginally significant (p-value < 0.10). Lastly, older respondents were less likely to provide the correct response on whether human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders (item 5). The oldest group, between the ages of 56 and 74, were 16 percentage points less likely to provide the correct response, while the middle-aged group, between the ages of 40 and 55, were about 10 percentage points less likely to provide the correct response compared to respondents between the ages of 18 and 39. Both of these differences were statistically significant. While there were no statistically significant differences on other human trafficking knowledge items, older respondents were in generally less knowledgeable

compared to the youngest group of respondents, suggesting that there may be some learning occurring among the younger general population.

Knowledge of Human Trafficking: MDWs

Overall, levels of knowledge on human trafficking among the general population were also moderate. Like the general population, nearly 50% of respondents got the answers correct across all measures. Among MDWs, The levels of knowledge on some variables were lower (see Table 3.8). Only around 38% of MDWs correctly identified that human trafficking does not require movement across state or national borders, as opposed to close to 45% of the general population, and only 42% correctly answered that people can be trafficked even when they knowingly entered into prostitution, compared to 58% of the general population. On each of the remaining three items, like with the general population, over half of the workers provided correct responses. Over 70% of MDWs correctly identified that human trafficking is a form of slavery and 59% of them answered that sex trafficking is not the only type of human trafficking. Lastly, 61% were aware that men can be trafficked. This was the only question that the domestic workers were more likely to provide the correct answer to compared to the general population (58%), though the difference was modest.

Table 3.8: Knowledge of Human Trafficking, MDWs

Question	% Correct Responses Baseline, Weighted Total	% Correct Responses Baseline, Indonesia	% Correct Responses Baseline, The Philippines
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	71.3	62.7	76.8
Men can be trafficked	60.6	44.9	71.2
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	58.8	57.8	61.2
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	41.9	44.2	38.8
Requires movement across state or national borders	38.3	44.1	35.9

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

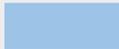
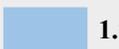
MDWs from the Philippines had slightly higher levels of knowledge on human trafficking than those from Indonesia, and the differences between these groups were statistically significant on whether human trafficking is a form of slavery (item 1) by 14.1 percentage points, the difference being statistically significant at a 0.05 level, and men can be trafficked (item 2) by 26.3 percentage points, the difference being statistically significance at a 0.01 level (see Table 3.8). Nepalis had high levels of knowledge on indicators 1, 2, and 3. However, none correctly identified that trafficking involves movement across

national borders. Examining the differences by age showed that older MDWs (age 36 and above) were 12.7 percentage points more knowledgeable about the fact that sex trafficking is not the only type of human trafficking, the difference being statistically significant at a 0.05 significance level. The two groups were comparable on all other measures of human trafficking knowledge. MDWs also did not differ based on whether they had less than or at least 4 years of experience.

D. Attitude Variables: Scope of Problem and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights

Scope of Problem and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights: General Population

Table 3.9: Attitudes Toward Forced Labor and Human Trafficking, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.4	 2.4	 2.4
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 1.9	 2.0	 1.9
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 1.7	 1.7	 1.7

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p -value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all/not at all big to 5 = a great deal/extremely big.

We asked three questions about attitudes toward forced labor and human trafficking, as reported in Table 3.9. Overall, employers and non-employers have moderate views regarding prioritizing MDW conditions and the scope of exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong. The average score that respondents indicated in terms of how much the government should prioritize policies and programs about the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong was between a moderate amount and a little. Respondents, on average, also identified the exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong as a slightly big problem, and forced labor and human trafficking as being only a slightly big or not at all big problem. It is interesting to note that if we look at the distribution of responses, the proportion of the general population that viewed exploitation of MDWs to be an extremely or moderately big problem (19.6%) is bigger than the proportion that viewed forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong to be an extremely or moderately big problem (11.4%). There were no statistically significant differences in attitudes of employers and non-employers on these indicators.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Men, on average, perceived the issue of exploitation of foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong to be bigger compared to women on all three of the

items concerning attitudes. The difference was only statistically significant (p-value < 0.05) with respect to how male and female respondents perceived the problem of exploitation of domestic workers in Hong Kong. When we look at different generational groups, respondents aged 56-74, the oldest generational cohort in the sample, gave higher priority to policies and programs focused on the conditions of migrant workers compared to the younger groups by 0.26 points on a 5-point scale, and this difference was statistically significant (p-value 0.01). However, there were no differences by generation on how big of a problem they felt the problems of exploitation of foreign domestic workers as well as forced labor and human trafficking were in Hong Kong.

Scope of Problem and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights: MDWs

Next, we examine MDWs’ responses to these outcomes. On average, MDWs expressed a greater preference for the government to prioritize policies and programs on MDW labor conditions, and viewed both the problem of exploitation of domestic workers and forced labor and human trafficking to be bigger compared to the general population (see Table 3.10). The differences were large, with the baseline scores of the three items being 3.3, 2.6, and 2.4, respectively.

Table 3.10: Attitudes Toward Forced Labor and Human Trafficking, MDWs

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Indonesia	Average Score Baseline, The Philippines
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	3.3	3.1	3.5
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	2.6	2.5	2.8
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	2.4	2.1	2.6

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all/not at all big to 5 = a great deal/extremely big.

Compared to Indonesian migrant workers, the workers from the Philippines expressed a higher level of concern regarding the need for government prioritization of these policies by 0.4 points and perceived the problem of forced labor and human trafficking as a bigger problem by 0.5 points. These differences were both statistically significant (p-values < 0.01). Interestingly, Nepali MDWs ranked the need to prioritize policy and programs as higher than the other groups but ranked the scope of the problem in Hong Kong as lower. Given that human trafficking vulnerability is high in Nepal, Nepali MDWs’ relatively low ranking of scope may be due to a perception that these problems are larger in their home country compared to Hong Kong. There were no meaningful group differences by age or by the time that they have been working as MDWs in Hong Kong.

E. Attitude Variables: Sympathy Towards MDWs

Sympathy Towards MDWs: General Population

General population respondents had fairly high levels of overall sympathy for victims of labor exploitation. Respondents expressed that they were unlikely to blame MDWs who had experienced sexual abuse or labor exploitation (see Table 3.11) by an employer. However, the average level of blame was slightly higher for labor exploitation than sexual abuse, with the average score being 1.5 and 1.4 respectively. There were no meaningful differences between employers and non-employers.

Table 3.11: Sympathy for MDWs who Experience Abuse, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 1.5	 1.4	 1.5
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 1.4	 1.3	 1.4

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: In terms of gender differences, men were more sympathetic towards foreign domestic workers who had been sexually exploited by their employers compared to women. This difference was marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). However, men were not particularly more sympathetic to victims of labor exploitation. There were no differences on our sympathy measure by education level or age group.

Sympathy Towards MDWs: MDWs

MDWs were less sympathetic to foreign domestic workers in both of these situations than the general population. The average score in terms of blame was 2.4 for both blaming a victim of labor abuse and sexual abuse (see Table 3.12). Looking at distributional differences is informative on this indicator. Where 73% of the general population said they would not be at all likely to blame the workers who had been sexually abused by their employer, only about 35% of the migrant workers said the same. Additionally, more than 23% of the migrant workers said that they were either extremely or very likely to blame the workers in such situations. Similar patterns were revealed with respect to how they viewed MDWs who had been victims of labor exploitation, with 34% stating that they would not at all blame such workers and over 21% stating that they would be extremely or very likely to blame workers in such situations. There were no statistically significant differences based on their nationality, age, and years of experience as migrant workers.

Table 3.12: Sympathy for MDWs who Experience Abuse, MDWs

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Indonesia	Average Score Baseline, The Philippines
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 2.4	 2.4	 2.4
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 2.4	 2.4	 2.4

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely.

F. Attitude Variables: Perceptions on How Employers Should Treat MDWs

Perceptions on How Employers Should Treat MDWs: General Population

When it comes to the acceptable treatment of MDWs, we asked the general population to rate the acceptability of behaviors that MDWs have reported experiencing by employers while working in Hong Kong. For each behavior, the response options ranged from 1 to 5, where 1 denotes never acceptable and 5 denotes always acceptable. As shown in the first 4 indicators in Table 3.13, general population respondents displayed low levels of tolerance for behaviors that can be perceived as abusive. Employers regarded waking an MDW up in the middle of the night to take care of children (baseline score = 2) as being more acceptable compared to other activities, including holding their passport (baseline score = 1.7), monitoring their phone use (baseline score = 1.5), and having them sleep in the common areas (baseline score = 1.5). Non-employers also generally viewed waking workers up in the middle of the night to take care of children (baseline score = 1.8) as more acceptable than other activities, but the differences are less stark (see Table 3.13). Although employers, on average, viewed waking the workers up in the middle of the night to take care of children and monitoring phone use as more acceptable than non-employers, both groups generally viewed these behaviors as, at most, rarely acceptable.

The last 4 indicators address forms of punishment that migrant domestic workers may experience, such as yelling, salary deductions, withholding food or food allowance, and physical abuse. Generally, general population respondents view these behaviors as extremely unacceptable, with scores ranging from 1.0 to 1.3 among employers and 1.0 to 1.2 among non-employers, where 1 indicates never acceptable and 5 indicates extremely acceptable. There are no statistically significant differences between employers and non-employers in the study with respect to any of the four behaviors we explore.

Table 3.13: Levels of Acceptability for Behaviors Related to MDW Mistreatment, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	1.8	2.0	1.8
Hold MDW’s passport	1.6	1.7	1.6
Have MDW sleep in the common area	1.5	1.5	1.5
Monitor MDW’s phone use	1.3	1.5	1.3
Yell at their worker	1.2	1.3	1.2
Deduct their salary	1.1	1.1	1.1
Withhold their food/food allowance	1.1	1.1	1.1
Beat their worker	1.0	1.0	1.0

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: In terms of gender, there were no statistically significant differences in how male and female respondents ranked the acceptability of the above listed behaviors. There were some differences by education levels, however. College-educated respondents perceived that holding passports was 0.2 points more acceptable than non-college-educated respondents. This group also saw waking MDWs up in the middle of the night to take care of the children as 0.2 points more acceptable than the non-college-educated group. These differences were marginally statistically significant (p-values < 0.10). However, college-educated respondents viewed the act of yelling and deducting salary as less acceptable than non-college educated respondents by 0.15 and 0.8 points, respectively (p-values < 0.05). In terms of age cohorts, older respondents (aged 40-55 and 56-74) were more accepting of sleeping in a common area by 0.15 points (p-value < 0.05) and 0.23 points (p-value < 0.01), respectively. Respondents aged 56-74 were significantly more accepting of holding onto MDWs’ passports and deducting salary by 0.3 and 0.1 points, respectively. Both of these differences are statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). This suggests that there are generational differences around what is deemed as acceptable behaviors towards MDWs.

Perceptions on How Employers Should Treat MDWs: MDWs

Table 3.14: Levels of Acceptability for Behaviors Related to Mistreatment of MDWs, MDWs

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Indonesia	Average Score Baseline, The Philippines
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 2.2	 2.4	 2.1
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 2.2	 2.3	 2.1
Monitor MDW's phone use	 2.0	 2.1	 1.9
Hold MDW's passport	 2.0	 2.2	 1.8
Yell at their worker	 1.7	 1.9	 1.6
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.6	 1.6	 1.6
Deduct their salary	 1.6	 1.6	 1.5
Beat their worker	 1.5	 1.6	 1.5

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable.

Generally, MDWs had low levels of tolerance for the behaviors associated with the mistreatment of MDWs (see Table 3.14). However, compared to the general population respondents, they were slightly more tolerant of many of these behaviors. This may reflect that behaviors taken as exceptional constitute mistreatment, but once one experiences them repeatedly they can become normalized. Like general population respondents, MDW respondents regarded waking MDWs up in the middle of the night to take care of children (baseline score = 2.2) as being more acceptable compared to other activities, including holding their passport (baseline score = 1.96), monitoring their phone use (baseline score = 1.9). However, they also ranked sleep in the common areas as more acceptable than these other behaviors (baseline score = 2.2, whereas general population respondents ranked this as less acceptable (baseline score = 1.5)). When looking at the differences between Indonesian and Filipina MDWs, Indonesian MDWs were more tolerant of employers waking a worker up and holding their passport, each by 0.3 points, and these differences were statistically significant. Additionally, Indonesian MDWs were more tolerant of monitoring an MDW's phone use by 0.3 points, and this difference was marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). MDWs with more than four years of experience, which is the median years of experience of the workers in our sample, expressed more tolerance toward many of these behaviors. These included waking MDWs in the

middle of the night to take care of the children (by 0.4 points) and withholding their passports (by 0.3 points) All of these differences were statistically significant. They were also about 0.3 points more tolerant of monitoring their phone use, but this difference was weakly statistically significant (p -value < 0.10).

In terms of behaviors such as yelling, salary deductions, withholding food or food allowance, and physical abuse, MDWs found these behaviors to be generally unacceptable. However, their tolerance was still slightly higher than that of the general population. While general population scores on these items ranged from 1.0 to 1.3 among employers and 1.0 to 1.2 among non-employers, where 1 indicates never acceptable and 5 indicates extremely acceptable, for MDWs the scores ranged from 1.5-1.7. When looking at national groups, Indonesian MDWs ranked these behaviors as more acceptable than Filipina MDWs, but the difference was only statistically significant at a marginal level for yelling (0.3 percentage points; p -value < 0.10). There were no statistically significant differences based on age. Importantly, we found that there were notable differences based on the number of years that respondents have been working as MDWs in Hong Kong. MDWs with more than four years of experience were more tolerant of certain behaviors, including beating the workers (a difference of 0.3 points; p -value < 0.05), withholding food (a difference of 0.4 points at a p -value < 0.01), and deducting their salary (a difference of 0.4 points; p -value < 0.05) compared to those with fewer years of experience. Nepalis tended to rank these behaviors as less acceptable than Filipina and Indonesian MDWs with the exception of waking up to care for children. This, again, suggests the possibility that such behaviors can become normalized when they are experienced repeatedly.

G. Attitude Variables: Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse

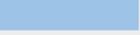
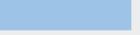
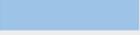
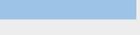
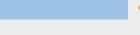
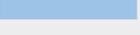
Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse, General Population

The survey asked respondents to rank the effectiveness of different measures aimed at reducing labor abuse, including measures that would provide more police training; adopt stricter punishments for individuals who engage in labor abuse; increase workplace monitoring and supervision; improve economic conditions and wages in the home country of foreign domestic migrant workers; provide people with more information about labor exploitation; and educate girls and provide them with more work options (see Table 3.15). Generally, the general population views each of these policy measures as moderately effective, with their average scores ranging from 3.1 to 3.4 on a five-point scale, where 1 indicates not at all effective and 5 denotes extremely effective. One exception concerns the provision of police training, which both groups viewed as least effective, on average (2.6). This may be related to the rise in anti-police sentiment in the wake of the pro-democracy uprisings; however, more exploration is necessary to assess why police training is not viewed as a particular policy or programmatic tool.

When looking at intergroup differences, results show that non-employers generally view these measures as slightly more effective than employers. For example, non-employers regarded increasing workplace monitoring and supervision as well as providing more information about labor exploitation to be, on average, 0.13 points more effective than employers. This is a marginally statistically significant difference (p -value < 0.10). This difference may indicate a preference by employers for measures that are less likely

to directly implicate them and subject them to monitoring. In addition, non-employers responded that providing more work options and education for girls is 0.15 points more effective than employers, a difference that is statistically significant (p-value < 0.05). Non-employers viewed all of the other measures as more effective, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Table 3.15: Rankings of Effectiveness for Measures to Reduce Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.4	 3.4	 3.4
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.3	 3.2	 3.3
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.2	 3.1	 3.3
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.2	 3.1	 3.2
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.2	 3.1	 3.2
Provide more police training	 2.6	 2.6	 2.6

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective.

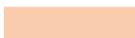
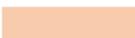
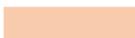
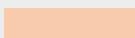
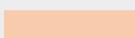
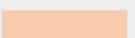
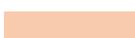
Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Looking at differences by gender, age, and education level, we found that men tended to perceive the listed policies as more effective in addressing labor abuse compared to women. Men perceived the following policies as more effective than women did: workplace monitoring and supervision, adopting stricter punishments, improving economic conditions and wages in the home country of foreign domestic migrant workers, and providing people with more information about labor exploitation. For each of these items, the difference was about 0.1 point and marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10).

College-educated respondents saw punishing labor abuse offenders as 0.27 points more effective compared to respondents with lower education levels, the difference is statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). While college-educated respondents viewed most of the other measures as being slightly more effective, with the exception of strengthening workplace monitoring, the differences were not statistically significant. However, most notable group differences were between generational cohorts. Older groups tended to view many of the policies as being more effective. For example, they regarded providing more police training as especially more effective. The oldest group, aged 56 to 74, saw this measure as 0.26 points more effective, while those aged 40 to 55 saw it as 0.24 points more effective; these differences were statistically significant (p-value < 0.05). The two groups also viewed workplace monitoring and supervision as more effective than those aged 18-39. Those aged 40-55 reported monitoring to be 0.15 points more effective and those aged

56-74 who ranked it as 0.14 points more effective; these differences were marginally significant (p-value < 0.01). On the contrary, the oldest group of respondents (56-75) viewed educating girls and providing them with more work options as 0.26 points less effective, and the difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). This implies that the older groups tend to view strengthening government institutions, such as police training and workplace monitoring, as more effective measures in reducing labor abuse, but see less value in empowering vulnerable victims in achieving the same goal.

Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse, MDWs

Table 3.16: Rankings of Effectiveness for Measures to Reduce Labor Abuse, MDWs

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Indonesia	Average Score Baseline, The Philippines
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.6	 3.5	 3.7
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.6	 3.6	 3.6
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.6	 3.5	 3.7
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.6	 3.6	 3.6
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.6	 3.3	 3.7
Provide more police training	 3.5	 3.5	 3.5

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective.

Generally, MDWs ranked the effectiveness of programs and policies for reducing labor exploitation between moderately and very effective (see Table 3.16). MDWs ranked providing information and improving economic conditions as most effective (both ranked at 3.7 points). The rest of the indicators were ranked as follows: workplace monitoring (3.6); punishment (3.6); employment and education opportunities for girls (3.6); and police training (3.5). Compared to the general population, MDWs perceived all measures as slightly more effective. Although both groups ranked police training as the least effective policy instrument, there was a notable difference with MDWs rating this measure at 3.5 in terms of effectiveness and the general population ranking this measure almost a full point lower at 2.6. This may be due to anti-police sentiment among the general population that has resulted from the Pro-Democracy movement and the National Security Law, though further exploration is necessary to know definitively. In terms of differences between Indonesian and Filipina MDWs, Indonesians tended to rank these policies and programs as similarly effective or less effective than Filipinas. However, the only statistically significant difference was a lower rating of the provision of more information about labor exploitation to reduce labor

abuse by 0.4 points, and this difference is statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). Nepalis generally ranked all of these measures as more effective than their counterparts. In terms of age, MDWs who were at least 36 years of age viewed providing more work and education for girls as 0.24 points more effective compared to the younger MDWs, and this difference was statistically significant at a 0.05 significance level. Note that 36 is the median and mean age of all MDWs who took the survey, and therefore serves as the age cut-off in this sample. Lastly, we found no meaningful differences based on whether or not the MDWs spent at least 4 years working as MDWs in Hong Kong.

H. Attitude Variables: Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations

Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations, General Population

Table 3.17 shows respondents’ perceptions of the prevalence of labor exploitation in Hong Kong. In particular, the prevalence of being forced to work for little or no pay and being forced to work to pay off a debt. Results show that the general population does not see these issues as very prevalent with the average answer response being equal to or a little more than “slightly often.” There are no notable differences between employers and non-employers.

Table 3.17: Prevalence of Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.5	 2.5	 2.5
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.0	 2.1	 2.0

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: There were gender differences in the perceived prevalence of labor exploitation. Male respondents perceived both indicators as more prevalent than female respondents. Specifically, male respondents viewed people being forced to work for little or no pay as 0.23 points more prevalent, the difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01), and saw people being forced to work to pay off a debt as 0.17 points more prevalent, and this difference was statistically significant (p-value < 0.05). In terms of education level and age groups, there were no statistically significant differences.

Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations, MDWs

MDWs noted, on average, that labor exploitation in Hong Kong occurs slightly to moderately often. When asked about prevalence, MDWs rated being forced to work for little or no pay at 2.7 and being forced to work to pay off a debt at 2.7 (see Table 3.18). Perhaps not surprisingly, MDWs viewed labor exploitation as more prevalent than the general public as they are more directly vulnerable to labor exploitation.

Indonesian MDWs rated labor abuse as less prevalent than Filipina MDWs. They viewed the situation in which people are forced to work to pay off a debt and are forced to work for little or no pay as 0.7 and 0.8 points less prevalent, respectively, and these differences were significant (p-value < 0.01). Interestingly, Nepalis tended to rank the prevalence of forced labor as much lower than their counterparts. More research is necessary to explain these differences in perceptions. There were no differences in how they viewed these situations by age or the length of experience working as migrant workers in Hong Kong.

Table 3.18: Prevalence of Labor Abuse, MDW

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Indonesia	Average Score Baseline, The Philippines
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.7	 2.4	 3.1
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.7	 2.4	 3.1

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often.

I. Attitude Variables: Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse

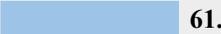
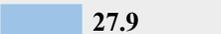
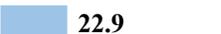
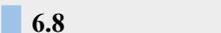
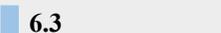
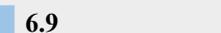
Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse: General Population

Next, Table 3.19 reports what percentage of general population respondents identified particular causes as the principal reasons one may experience labor abuse. Respondents had the option to select as many of the listed reasons that they feel apply. The three causes selected most often were poverty, poor wages, and lack of information, with over 70 percent of the population responding that poverty is among the main reasons why people experience labor exploitation. The least frequently selected reasons were reckless behavior by the victims, with only 6.3 and 6.9 percent, respectively, selecting these as the main reason for labor abuse occurrences. Less than 50 percent of general population respondents regard gender and ethnic discrimination, as well as weak laws and law enforcement as principal reasons behind labor abuse.

When comparing results between employers and non-employers, there are some notable differences. First, 60 percent of employers view lack of information and education as a leading cause of labor abuse, compared to 53.6 percent of non-employers (p-value < 0.05). A greater share of employers also view weak laws and law enforcement, gender discrimination, and family pressure to earn money as leading causes of the problem compared to non-employers. That said, those differences are not statistically significant.

On the other hand, a greater share of non-employers view unemployment as one of the principal causes of labor abuse than employers (p-value < 0.05). Over half of non-employers pointed to unemployment as mainly contributing to this problem, compared to only 43.3 percent of employers. Non-employers also viewed poverty, poor wages, reckless behavior, and ethnic discrimination as leading problems more so than employers, but these differences were not statistically meaningful.

Table 3.19: Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	% Selected Baseline, Weighted Total	% Selected Baseline, Employers	% Selected Baseline, Non-Employers
Poverty	 74.9	 71.2	 75.5
Poor wages	 66.8	 62.7	 67.4
Lack of information / lack of education	 54.6	 61.1	 53.6
Unemployment	 51.5	 43.3	 52.7
Family pressure to earn money	 49.3	 51.7	 49.0
Weak laws / law enforcement	 39.5	 41.4	 39.2
Ethnic discrimination	 29.2	 27.9	 29.4
Gender discrimination	 21.0	 22.9	 20.7
Reckless behavior by the victims	 6.8	 6.3	 6.9

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars** = % who selected the answer option. **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: There were no statistically significant differences between male and female respondents in terms of identifying the principal reasons for labor abuse. There were also no systematic differences by age groups. However, there were statistically significant differences across education levels. College-educated respondents were more likely to perceive the lack of information (by 0.1 points; p-value < 0.05), weak laws and law enforcement (by 0.2 points; p-value < 0.01), gender discrimination (by 0.2 points; p-value < 0.01), and ethnic discrimination (by 0.1 points; p-value < 0.05) as leading causes of labor abuse compared to those without a college education. The general population and MDWs were similar in terms of how frequently they identified poverty, poor wages, unemployment, reckless behavior by the victims, and family pressure to earn money as contributing to people’s experience with labor abuse.

Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse: MDWs

Table 3.20: MDW Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse

Question	% Selected Baseline, Weighted Total	% Selected Baseline, Indonesia	% Selected Baseline, The Philippines
Poor wages	 43.1	 37.0	 46.4
Lack of information / lack of education	 39.6	 25.2	 47.7
Poverty	 38.0	 29.4	 42.5
Unemployment	 32.7	 31.9	 31.4
Family pressure to earn money	 24.4	 17.6	 26.8
Ethnic discrimination	 23.8	 22.7	 25.5
Reckless behavior by the victims	 21.8	 19.3	 22.9
Lack of information / lack of education	 19.1	 20.2	 19.0
Gender discrimination	 18.9	 16.0	 21.6

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % who selected the answer option. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05).

MDWs were most likely to identify poor wages (35.3%), lack of information (32.5%) and poverty (31.1%) as principal causes of labor abuse (see Table 3.20). These are the same three causes that the general population respondents felt as most problematic, although the rates were much higher among the general population respondents. The MDW respondents were least likely to view gender discrimination (15.4%) and weak laws (15.7%) as the main causes of the problem, followed by reckless behavior by the victims (17.9%) and ethnic discrimination (19.5%). Comparing based on the nationality, we found that Indonesian workers were less likely to attribute labor abuse to poverty (by 12 percentage points) and lack of information (by 19.7 percentage points) compared to Filipina migrant workers, and both of these differences are statistically significant. Indonesian workers were also 8.3 percentage points less likely to see family pressure to earn money and poor wages as main problems, although this difference was weakly statistically significant with p-values of less than 0.10. Nepalis were less likely to rank ethnic discrimination, weak laws and gender discrimination as reasons people experience labor abuse. However, they were more likely to rank poor wages, lack of information, poverty, unemployment, family pressure, and reckless behavior than

their Filipina and Indonesian counterparts. MDWs with more than four years of experience, the median length of experience of MDWs in the study, were less likely to point to unemployment (10 percentage points; p-value < 0.10) and family pressure to earn money (11.9 percentage points; p-value < 0.05) as contributing to the problem of labor abuse. There were no systematic differences between MDWs younger than 36 and workers 36 years old and older, where 36 is the median age of the workers in this study.

J. Practice Variables: Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse

Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse, General Population

In terms of willingness to take action, Table 3.21 reports respondents' likelihood to take action against labor abuse by talking to friends and family and reporting labor abuse to the police. Generally, general population respondents report being slightly or moderately likely to talk to their family and friends about labor exploitation as well as to call the police about a situation that they think might be labor abuse. Both groups are slightly more willing to talk to their family and friends than call the police. The differences between employers and non-employers are not statistically significant.

Table 3.21: Willingness to Take Action, General Population

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	2.7	2.6	2.7
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	2.4	2.4	2.4

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers) with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than non-employers at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: There were no statistically significant differences between male and female respondents or different age group cohorts regarding their degree of willingness to talk to their family and friends about labor exploitation as well as call the police in situations that they thought were labor abuse. However, college-educated respondents had greater willingness to call the police in situations that they thought were labor abuse compared to those with lower levels of education; the difference was about 0.2 points, and this was marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10).¹¹

Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse, MDWs

MDWs reported that they were moderately to very likely to call the police regarding a situation of labor abuse (3.8) and talk to family and friends about labor exploitation (3.8) (see Table 3.22). MDWs rate the likelihood of taking these actions as at least a point higher than the general population. Similar to the effectiveness measures, Indonesian MDWs tended to rate the likelihood of engaging in these acts lower

¹¹ Recall that differences that are weakly statistically significant, which have p-values that are less than 0.10 but higher than 0.05, are not made explicit in the charts.

than Filipina MDWs, but these differences are not statistically significant. Nepalis tended to rate talking to family and friends lower than their counterparts. There are no statistically significant differences based on age or the length of time that they worked as MDWs in Hong Kong.

Table 3.22: Willingness to Take Action, MDW

Question	Average Score Baseline, Weighted Total	Average Score Baseline, Employers	Average Score Baseline, Non-Employers
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 3.8	 3.8	 3.9
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 3.8	 3.7	 3.9

Note: Base is MDWs with no treatment, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than MDWs from The Philippines at baseline (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely.

K. Comparing Knowledge and Attitudes between General Population in Hong Kong and Nepal

Table 3.23: Knowledge on Human Trafficking, Hong Kong v. Nepal

Question Wording	Correct Answer	% Correct Responses (Baseline, Hong Kong)	% Correct Responses (Baseline, Nepal)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	True	75.9%	79.5%
Sex trafficking is only type of human trafficking	False	64.5%	74.8%
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered prostitution	False	57.5%	31.8%
Men can be trafficked	True	49.9%	80.0%
Requires movement across state / national borders	False	45.0%	61.8%

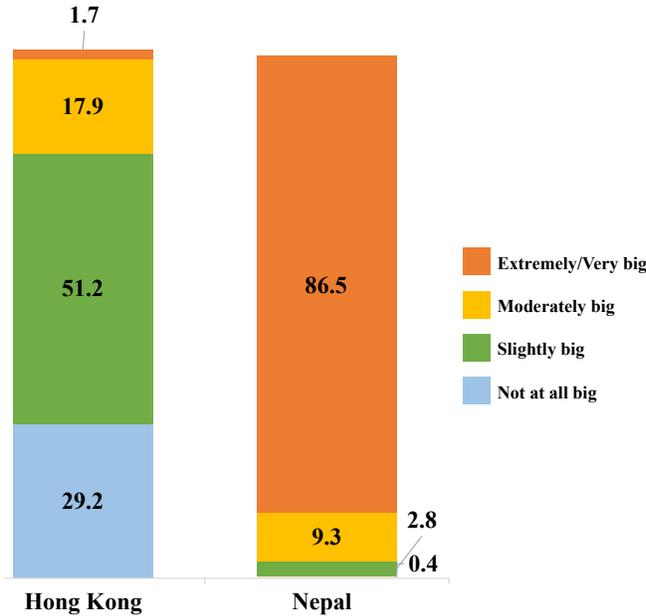
Note: Base is general population for each Nepal and Hong Kong, untreated at baseline. The higher for each measure across the two samples rate is **bolded**.

We now turn to a cross-national analysis, comparing baseline levels of knowledge and attitudes of the general population in Hong Kong and Nepal. For this comparison, we use survey data from The Human Trafficking Vulnerability Survey in Nepal (Table 3.23).¹² Overall, there are higher levels of knowledge

¹²Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2016. "Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal." Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series, USAID. Retrieved from: <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/DFG-Vanderbilt-Publication>.

surrounding human trafficking in Nepal, with the exception of whether individuals can be trafficked if they knowingly entered into prostitution.

Figure 3.1: How Big of a Problem is Human Trafficking in [Hong Kong/Nepal]?



Note: Base is general population for each Nepal and Hong Kong, untreated at baseline.

There are differences between how the Nepali and Hong Kong population rank the scope of human trafficking in their respective countries (Figure 3.1). In Nepal, 56.5% of respondents rank human trafficking as an extremely big problem, while in Hong Kong only 1.1% selected this rank. Respondents in Nepal were more likely to be willing to take actions to combat trafficking and labor abuse (Table 3.24). Comparing both sets of respondents, 82.4% Nepalis reported being extremely or very likely to call the police in the case of suspected trafficking, as compared with 21.3% of those in Hong Kong. Further, 72.9% of respondents in Nepal reported being extremely or very likely to talk to friends and family about trafficking, as compared with 30.3% of respondents in Hong Kong.

Table 3.24 Likelihood to Take Anti-Trafficking Action, Nepal versus Hong Kong

Measure	% Who Reported Being Extremely or Very Likely to Take Actions Baseline Nepal (Orange) and Baseline Hong Kong (Blue)
Talk to Friends and Family	Nepal: 72.9, Hong Kong: 30.3
Call the Police	Nepal: 82.4, Hong Kong: 21.3

Note: Base is general population for each Nepal and Hong Kong, untreated at baseline. Reported percentages are the combination of top two responses from a 5-point scale (extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, not at all likely).

Regarding which measures would be effective in reducing labor abuse, respondents in Nepal had a higher consensus on what measures would overall be more effective (Table 3.25). The top three measures in Nepal were educating girls and providing them with more work options (89.9% of respondents said that would be extremely or very effective), adopting stricter punishments for traffickers (84.2%), and providing people with more information about labor exploitation (79.0%). In Hong Kong, the top three measures were adopting stricter punishments for people who engage in labor abuse (44.3%), providing people with more

information about labor exploitation (42.5%), and increasing workplace monitoring and supervision (42.0%).

Table 3.25: Effectiveness of Labor Abuse Reducing Measures, Nepal versus Hong Kong

Measure	% Who View Measures as Extremely or Very Effective Baseline Nepal (Orange) and Baseline Hong Kong (Blue)
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	89.9 (Nepal), 37.6 (Hong Kong)
Provide people with more information about labor exploitation	79.0 (Nepal), 42.5 (Hong Kong)
Improve working conditions and wages [in the home country of MDWs] (Hong Kong) / [in Nepal] (Nepal)	63.8 (Nepal), 36.3 (Hong Kong)
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	61.3 (Nepal), 42.0 (Hong Kong)
Adopt stricter punishments for [individuals who engage in labor abuse] (Hong Kong) / [for traffickers] (Nepal)	84.2 (Nepal), 44.3 (Hong Kong)
Provide more police training	72.8 (Nepal), 25.8 (Hong Kong)

Note: Base is general population for each Nepal and Hong Kong, untreated at baseline. Reported percentages are the combination of top two responses from a 5-point scale (**extremely effective, very effective, moderately effective, slightly effective, not at all effective**).

Consistent with the previous measures, respondents in Nepal were more likely to think that instances of forced labor were occurring in their country, with 46.6% asserting that people being forced to work for little or no pay was extremely or very prevalent in Nepal, compared with 16.7% in Hong Kong, and 45.6% asserting that people being forced to work to pay off a debt was extremely or very prevalent in Nepal, as compared with 6.3% in Hong Kong (Table 3.26).

Respondents in Hong Kong were most likely to name poor wages (66.8%) and lack of information or lack of education (54.6%) as the principal reason people become trafficked (Table 3.27). In Nepal, respondents were most likely to name unemployment (68.5%) and lack of information or lack of education (61.6%) as the principal reasons people become trafficked.

Table 3.26: Perceived Prevalence of Labor Abuse, Nepal versus Hong Kong

Measure	% Who Think the Following Are Extremely or Very Prevalent Baseline Nepal (Orange) and Baseline Hong Kong (Blue)
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	<p>45.6 6.3</p>
People being forced to work to for little or no pay	<p>46.6 16.7</p>

Note: Base is general population for each Nepal and Hong Kong, untreated at baseline. Reported percentages are the combination of top two responses from a 5-point scale (**extremely prevalent**, **very prevalent**, moderately prevalent, slightly prevalent, not at all prevalent).

Table 3.27: Perceived Principal Reasons for Trafficking, Nepal versus Hong Kong

Measure	% Who View as a Principal Reason People Become Trafficked Baseline Nepal (Orange) and Baseline Hong Kong (Blue)
Unemployment	<p>68.5 51.5</p>
Lack of Information / Lack of Education	<p>61.6 54.6</p>
Family Pressure to Earn Money	<p>31.3 49.3</p>
Poor Wages	<p>15.1 66.8</p>
Reckless Behavior by Victims	<p>8.7 6.8</p>
Weak Laws / Law Enforcement	<p>5.0 39.5</p>
Ethnic Discrimination	<p>1.2 29.2</p>
Gender Discrimination	<p>1.2 21.0</p>

III. Conclusion

This chapter showed general population and MDW levels of knowledge, attitudes, and practice regarding MDW rights, policies, and labor conditions prior to being exposed to the awareness campaigns treatments. Overall, both populations had high levels of knowledge on certain indicators. Yet on others, such as MDW average working hours and living space requirements, there is significant room for improvement. It is notable that MDWs, compared to the general population, had lower levels of awareness regarding some of the laws that are intended to protect them. These included the law that requires employers to pay back pay when they fail to compensate their worker, and the 24 hours of uninterrupted rest and the living space that they are entitled to have under the standard employment contract. As such, campaigns that focus on these issues can play an important role in raising MDW awareness.

The results regarding attitudes suggest some room to improve the general population's perception of the scope of the problem and prioritization of these issues by the Hong Kong government. We found that MDWs were more likely than the general population to perceive labor exploitation and human trafficking as a problem in Hong Kong and expressed a higher need for the government to prioritize these issues. MDWs were also likely to view various ways to address labor abuse as more effective. However, MDWs expressed lower levels of sympathy towards MDWs who had been victims of both labor abuse and sexual abuse. On this variable, the campaigns may have the potential to increase levels of sympathy. There is also room to move the general population in regard to taking action against labor abuse. MDWs were more likely than their general population counterparts to express a willingness to call the police in situations that they perceived as labor abuse and talk to their family and friends about these issues.

Another important finding was that while MDWs did not tolerate abusive behaviors towards MDWs, their level of tolerance was generally higher than general population respondents and this tolerance level rose with more years of experience working in Hong Kong. Exposure to awareness campaigns may be able to reduce these tolerance levels. In terms of the cross-country comparison, at baseline, the Nepali general population had higher levels of knowledge regarding human trafficking than the HK general population. The Nepali general population also tended to rank various measures for reducing forced labor and trafficking as more effective than the Hong Kong general population. Further research on differences in the regulatory and advocacy environment between them is necessary to understand these differences.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION, PART II

Measuring the Differential Impact of Awareness Campaigns

I. Introduction

This chapter assesses the effects of the awareness campaigns in shifting the KAP of the general population and migrant domestic worker population in Hong Kong. For the general population sample, we look at the effects of the treatment on the samples as a whole as well as by their status as an employer and non-employer, gender, age, and education level. For the MDW sample, we look at differences in the treatment effects by nationality.

Among the general population, we found that in most cases, the awareness campaigns had the intended effects on KAP. We found that the video campaign tends to be more impactful than the fact-based poster campaign, and the impact also tends to affect individuals who are more immediately implicated--in this case, employers. We also found that the strongest effects were on variables related to knowledge.

The awareness campaigns were, in general, less effective in bringing about changes among MDWs. This was especially true for measures on knowledge, increasing the share of correct responses on just two knowledge variables. The effects were also limited with respect to attitudinal outcomes. We observed large and statistically significant changes in some of the attitudinal variables, including on how MDWs perceived the scope of exploitation, labor abuse, and human trafficking in Hong Kong. For other outcome measures relating to attitudes, we found that the campaigns were largely ineffective in bringing about changes when examining MDWs as a whole. It is important to note that some of the effects of the campaigns were different based on the nationality, age, and years of experience of the MDW.

II. Results: Treatment Effects

A. Knowledge Variables: Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations

Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations: General Population

In terms of knowledge levels, we anticipated that the awareness campaigns would increase knowledge amongst the general population and MDWs regarding the conditions and rights of migrant domestic workers addressed by the campaigns. Of the knowledge indicators we measured (Table 4.1), the awareness campaigns specifically addressed: rest hours, agency fees, holding passport, minimum wage, live in requirements, and the number of MDWs in Hong Kong. The campaigns did not directly address the following indicators: back pay, contract length, average hours, and working hour limits.

At baseline, general population respondents had high levels of knowledge regarding the 24 hour rest period policy and back pay requirements. They had very low levels of knowledge regarding contract length, the population size of MDWs in Hong Kong and limits on the working hours of MDWs. As shown in Table 4.1, the video awareness campaign led to statistically significant increases in correct responses amongst the general population on five out of ten knowledge measures, including rest hours, agency placement fees, holding of passport, minimum wage, and the number of MDWs in Hong Kong (Table 4.1). Exposure to the poster campaign led to statistically significant increases in correct responses in three out of ten measures, including who can hold an MDWs passport, minimum wage, and the number of MDWs in Hong Kong. These three indicators were directly addressed in the campaigns. However, the poster also led to a statistically significant decrease in knowledge of average working hours. This is an indicator that the campaigns did not address directly, however. Overall, the treatments had a positive impact on knowledge levels for all indicators that the campaigns addressed directly.

Table 4.1: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, General Population

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
24 hours uninterrupted rest	92.9	+2.7	+1.4
Required to pay back pay	91.7	+2.0	+2.7
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	78.1	+7.8	+2.2
Who can hold passport	64.1	+16.3	+15.2
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	59.4	+38.6	+36.6
Living space requirements	51.9	-1.5	+1.1
Average hours per day	41.4	-3.2	-6.6
Leave country three weeks after contract	13.9	-1.9	-1.4
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	13.8	+73.5	+72.5
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	4.6	-1.6	+0.1

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

In terms of differences between employers and non-employers, the video awareness campaign led to statistically significant increases among employers in correct responses on five out of the ten measures, including: rest hours, minimum wage, agency fees, holding passport, and population size of MDWs. The video led to a statistically significant decrease in correct response to the measure on contract length (Table

4.2). This finding is not viewed as a negative outcome of the study, as contract length was not directly addressed in the campaign. In other words, this is likely a spurious finding as there was no mention of contract length in the content of the campaigns. Among non-employers, the video treatment increased correct responses on four out of ten measures, including minimum wage, agency fees, holding passport, and contract length. All of these indicators, except for contract length, were addressed in the treatments.

The poster campaign had a slightly smaller impact than the video campaign overall. Compared to the control group, employers who received the poster campaign had statistically significant increases in correct responses on three out of the ten measures, including minimum wage, holding passport, and the number of MDWs in Hong Kong. The poster is associated with a statistically significant decrease in correct responses on contract length (Table 4.2). Among non-employers who received the poster treatment, correct responses significantly increased on three out of ten measures, including: agency fees, holding passport, and contract length and it did not lead to a statistically significant decrease in knowledge on any measures (Table 4.3).

Table 4.2: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, Employers

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Required to pay back pay	96.5	+2.1	+1.3
24 hours uninterrupted rest	95.9	+2.7	+2.5
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	93.4	+6.0	+6.6
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	87.0	+5.8	+1.6
Who can hold passport	76.2	+8.8	+8.9
Living space requirements	63.5	-6.3	-6.2
Average hours per day	39.6	-4.3	-4.1
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	27.4	+61.3	+64.7
Leave country three weeks after contract	5.5	-3.3	-3.3
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	0.9	+0.7	-0.6

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

The increases in knowledge among non-employers are especially of note, as they had lower percentages of correct answers on all but two measures prior to viewing the campaigns: the length of time an MDW can stay in the country after the end of a contract and the limit on an MDW's working hours. In the treatment

groups, the gains in knowledge, especially regarding legal rights of MDWs, were large, as high as 43.5 percentage points. While there were also significant gains among employers, especially on the questions regarding the legal rights of MDWs, the gains are perhaps less high among employers than non-employers due to the higher baseline level of knowledge of employers.

Table 4.3: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, Non-Employers

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
24 hours uninterrupted rest	92.4	+2.6	+1.3
Required to pay back pay	90.9	+1.8	+2.9
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	76.6	+7.8	+2.4
Who can hold passport	62.2	+17.2	+16.2
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	54.2	+43.5	+41.2
Living space requirements	50.1	-1.1	+2.3
Average hours per day	41.6	-2.9	-7.0
Leave country three weeks after contract	15.3	-1.3	-1.1
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	11.6	+75.7	+74.2
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	5.2	+0.7	-0.6

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher or lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Next, we examined if the treatments had heterogeneous effects based on gender, education, and age of the respondent. There were no systematic differences in how the campaigns affected the general population by their gender. Among those college-educated and non-college-educated respondents, both treatments significantly increased knowledge levels on the following topics: minimum wage, holding passports, and the number of MDWs living in Hong Kong. Generally, effects were larger among college-educated respondents compared to those with fewer years of education. The poster was especially effective among college-educated respondents on a number of knowledge measures. The effects on college-educated respondents were larger than non-college educated respondents, including on who is able to hold onto the workers’ passports by 12.3 percentage points (p-value < 0.05), the minimum wage by 18.8 percentage points (p-value < 0.01) and the number of domestic workers in Hong Kong by 11.9 percentage points (p-value < 0.01). The video campaign was also effective in increasing college-educated respondents’ awareness of MDW’s minimum wage, such that the effect was

11.9 percentage points larger than for non-college educated respondents. Note that prior to seeing the campaigns, college-educated respondents were less knowledgeable than their non-college educated counterparts on these indicators including the average number of working hours, the living space requirements, minimum wage, holding passports, as well as the number of MDWs in Hong Kong.

Table 4.4: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	85.2	-2.1	+0.4
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	80.5	+5.4	+1.7
Required to pay back pay	79.9	+3.6	+2.5
24 hours uninterrupted rest	79.9	+4.6	+3.0
Who can hold passport	72.8	+1.8	+6.8
Average hours per day	54.3	+4.7	+2.8
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	23.6	-5.1	-4.3
Living space requirements	23.5	+0.1	-1.5
Leave country three weeks after contract	23.4	-4.4	+0.3
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	19.8	+4.4	+6.7

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Comparing different age groups, the treatments were generally more effective in raising awareness of older cohorts, whose ages were between 56 and 74. For example, the poster campaign led to an increase in knowledge among respondents aged 56-74 that only the MDWs are allowed to hold onto their passports, the rule on back pay, and the minimum wage of workers, the effects of which were 11.9 (p-value < 0.05), 11.0 (p-value < 0.01), and 7.6 (p-value < 0.10) percentage points, respectively, larger than those between the ages of 18 and 39. The video was also more effective on respondents aged 56-74 on back pay by 12 percentage points more than the youngest group, aged 18-39, and this difference in effect was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). The video campaign was marginally more effective among 56-74 year-olds in increasing the knowledge of the number of MDWs in Hong Kong and the minimum wage law by 8.8 and 8.7 percentage points, respectively, compared to the 18-39 age group. Regarding the contract and rest day policies, the poster treatment was more effective among the 40-55 age group by 8.6 and 6.5 percentage

points, respectively, compared to the 18-39 age group; these differences were both statistically significant (p-value < 0.05).

Knowledge of Working Conditions, Rights, Laws and Regulations: MDW

At baseline, MDWs had high levels of knowledge regarding the monthly minimum wage, agency fees, and back pay and low levels of knowledge regarding limits on working hours, living space requirements, contract length and number of MDWs in Hong Kong. However, unlike the general population, the treatments had largely null effects on MDWs' level of knowledge (Table 4.4). The poster and video treatments each caused a meaningful shift in knowledge on just one variable each: the poster led to a 6.8 percentage point increase in correct responses on the question of who is allowed to hold onto a migrant worker's passport that was statistically significant, and the video led to a 5.4 percentage point increase in correct responses on agency fees that was weakly statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). Both of these indicators were addressed directly by the treatments.

Table 4.5: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Required to pay back pay	85.9	+0.4	+1.7
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	85.1	-3.6	+0.4
24 hours uninterrupted rest	82.2	+9.1	+0.5
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	81.5	+8.1	+4.1
Average hours per day	61.1	+2.2	+3.1
Who can hold passport	57.1	+4.0	+15.4
Living space requirements	19.0	+9.4	+9.0
Leave country three weeks after contract	18.2	-9.4	+2.6
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	16.7	-6.9	-0.9
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	15.8	-4.2	-4.3

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

There are some notable treatment effects that differ by the nationality of the MDWs. Overall, workers from Indonesia were more responsive to the campaigns than those from the Philippines. We found that both the poster and video treatments were effective, marginally, in raising awareness about the living space guaranteed for MDWs among workers from Indonesia, but had the opposite effect among workers from the Philippines. Among workers from the Philippines, the poster led to a 9.5 percentage point decline in knowledge on this item, a difference that is statistically significant (p-value < 0.05), and the video led to a 7.9 percentage point decline, a difference that is weakly statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). Living space is an indicator that the treatments directly addressed. We also find that the treatment effect on the variable about who is allowed to hold a migrant worker’s passport occurred only among Indonesians; the poster campaign led to a 15.4 percentage point increase that was statistically significant (p-value < 0.01). On both of these variables, the baseline knowledge was lower among Indonesian workers compared to Filipina workers. In addition, among the Indonesian workers, the video treatment caused an increase in the percent of correct responses provided on the question of 24 hours of uninterrupted rest by 9.1 percentage points (p-value < 0.05) and the upper limit on the placement agency by 8.1 percentage points (p-value < 0.10), while reducing the percent of correct responses on the question about the law that requires workers to leave the country three weeks after their contract expires by 9.4 percentage points (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.6: Knowledge Questions Treatment Effects, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Monthly minimum wage MDWs	84.7	-1.0	+0.2
Who can hold passport	83.5	+1.1	+0.3
Legal maximum for agency placement fee	78.9	+3.3	-0.2
24 hours uninterrupted rest	77.2	+0.8	+4.9
Required to pay back pay	73.8	+6.6	+3.8
Average hours per day	47.0	+6.7	+2.1
Leave country three weeks after contract	28.9	-0.6	-1.5
Living space requirements	28.5	-7.9	-9.5
Limit to number of hours of work in a day	26.1	-5.4	-5.2
How many MDWs in Hong Kong	16.7	+12.8	+10.5

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no heterogeneous treatment effects on MDWs’ knowledge levels based on the length of their work experience. Comparing the age groups of migrant workers, we found that the video was more effective among those aged 35 or below compared to the older general population. More specifically, the effects were larger on the younger group by 17.7 percentage points (p-value < 0.01), living space requirements by 14.9 percentage points (p-value < 0.05), and passport by 13.3 percentage points (p-value < 0.05).

B. Knowledge Variables: Knowledge of Human Trafficking

Knowledge of Human Trafficking: General Population

As noted in Chapter 3, we found that employers only had a slightly greater amount of knowledge on human trafficking than non-employers, and that those differences were only statistically significant on measures relating to whether men can be trafficked and whether trafficking requires movement across state or national borders. In evaluating the impact of the treatment on knowledge of human trafficking (Table 4.7), we found that only the video, and not the poster, had statistically significant effects on knowledge, increasing correct responses on two measures (human trafficking is a form of slavery; men can be trafficked) and decreasing correct responses on two measures (you can’t be trafficked if you knowingly entered into prostitution; human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders). Of note is that the awareness campaigns did not explicitly address these particular topics, but rather addressed issues that MDWs face in Hong Kong.

Table 4.7: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, General Population

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	75.9	+5.9	+3.9
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	64.5	-2.9	+2.7
Can’t be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	57.5	-6.7	-0.3
Men can be trafficked	49.9	+8.3	+4.1
Requires movement across state or national borders	45.0	-5.8	-1.2

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.8: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, Employers

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	78.9	+3.5	-1.2
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	67.1	+4.1	-0.7
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	60.6	+3.2	-1.0
Men can be trafficked	56.9	-4.4	-7.4
Requires movement across state or national borders	52.5	-6.0	-4.6

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.9: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, Non-Employers

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	75.5	+6.2	+4.6
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	64.1	-4.5	+3.2
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	57.1	-8.8	-0.2
Men can be trafficked	48.8	+10.4	+5.8
Requires movement across state or national borders	43.9	-6.2	-0.6

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % answered correctly. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

In examining differences in effects between employers and non-employers, the video treatment had statistically significant effects on human trafficking knowledge only among non-employers. There was a statistically significant decrease in the proportion of non-employers who correctly answered whether individuals can be trafficked if they knowingly entered into prostitution, and increasing the proportion of non-employers who correctly answered that men can be trafficked (Tables 4.8 and 4.9). The video treatment also led to a marginally statistically significant increase in the proportion of non-employers who correctly answered that human trafficking is a form of slavery. Note that there were no consistent patterns

by gender, age, and education level of the respondents, with the exception of item 5, for which the treatments had larger effects on the older age groups compared to those aged 18-39.

Knowledge of Human Trafficking: MDWs

Table 4.10: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	71.3	-6.5	-5.4
Men can be trafficked	60.6	-6.8	-5.6
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	58.8	+1.7	-6.9
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	41.9	+3.3	+2.3
Requires movement across state or national borders	38.3	+2.2	-1.8

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.11: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	62.7	-6.1	-3.2
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	57.8	+3.9	-2.3
Men can be trafficked	44.9	-6.7	-3.6
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	44.2	+8.4	+5.3
Requires movement across state or national borders	44.1	+6.2	+1.0

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

When examining trafficking knowledge among MDWs, we did not observe any treatment effects on the knowledge variables (Table 4.10). Looking at the effects based on the workers' nationality (Tables 4.11 and 4.12), the poster treatment reduced the percent of workers from the Philippines who correctly responded

that sex trafficking is not the only type of human trafficking (p-value < 0.10), but there were no other differences.

Table 4.12: Knowledge of Human Trafficking Treatment Effect, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (% Correct Responses)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Human trafficking is a form of slavery	76.8	-6.3	-7.5
Men can be trafficked	71.2	-5.5	-8.5
The only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking	61.2	-0.4	-10.5
Can't be trafficked if knowingly entered into prostitution	38.8	-1.7	-
Requires movement across state or national borders	35.9	-1.9	-3.4

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered correctly.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: On two of the five items used to measure human trafficking-specific knowledge, the treatments were more effective among the younger group of MDWs. The poster treatment was marginally more effective (p-value < 0.10) in raising awareness of the fact that sex trafficking is not the only type of human trafficking (a 16.3 percentage point difference) and that one can be trafficked even if they knowingly entered into prostitution (15.8 percentage point difference) between respondents aged of 21 and 35 than those who were older. In terms of raising awareness among the younger group of MDWs compared to their older counterparts, the video was much more effective, and the differences were statistically significant regarding these same measures. The effect of the video campaign led to a 26.7 percentage points larger difference in correct responses on whether the only type of human trafficking is sex trafficking, and the difference was statistically significant at the 0.01 significance level; and 16.9 percentage points larger for the younger group on whether one can be trafficked if they knowingly enter into prostitution, with a difference here that is statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. There were no heterogeneous treatment effects based on the number of years that the respondents had worked as MDWs in Hong Kong.

C. Attitude Variables: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights

Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights: General Population

In terms of policies regarding MDW's working conditions and rights, we expected that the campaigns would lead to increased perception amongst the general population and MDWs samples that these policies

should be prioritized and an increase in the perception of the scope of exploitation, forced labor, and human trafficking in Hong Kong. As expected, among the general population, the campaigns led to increases in beliefs that the exploitation of domestic workers and forced labor and human trafficking are big problems in Hong Kong (Table 4.13). This is particularly of note given that baseline levels of prioritization were relatively low on these measures, indicating that the campaign had a strong and significant impact on increasing the prioritization of MDW working conditions and rights for employers and non-employers alike. Compared to the poster, the video campaign produced effects that were larger and more robust.

Table 4.13: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.4	-	-
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 1.9	+0.3	+0.2
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 1.7	+0.2	-

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.14: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.4	+0.1	+0.1
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.0	+0.3	+0.1
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 1.7	+0.1	-

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

In contrast, we found that neither treatment led to statistically significant shifts in the belief that the government should prioritize policies and programs that address the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong (Table 4.13). While this may be a disheartening finding, there are a few reasons why this may be the case. Firstly, respondents may see MDW treatment as an issue better addressed at the individual level rather than the state level, with employers prioritizing the equitable and ethical treatment of MDWs. Secondly, given the plethora of issues currently at play in Hong Kong — specifically with the recent political unrest and the ongoing COVID pandemic — respondents may not feel that the government should be including treatment of MDWs among those issues they are currently prioritizing. It is also worth noting that the video treatment led to a marginally statistically significant increase in the extent to which employers prioritized these issues, which underscores the potential for media campaigns to highlight issues among various competing agendas.

Table 4.15: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, Non-Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on the conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.4	+0.1	-
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 1.9	+0.3	+0.1
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 1.7	+0.2	+0.1

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big. Dashes (‘-’) indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

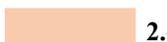
Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: In terms of gender differences among the general population, the poster had a larger effect among women, increasing their perception of the scope of exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong by about 0.15 points compared to men. This gap was marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). On other matters, the effects tended to be bigger among women, but the differences in the effects were not statistically significant.

Comparing the effects based on the respondents’ education level, the campaigns were generally more effective among respondents with a college-level education compared to those without. Specifically, the video treatment increased how high college-educated respondents’ rank how much the government should prioritize policies by 0.25 percentage points. Both treatments were more effective among this group than non-college educated respondents in terms of increasing perception of the scope of forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong by 0.21 points. All of these differences were statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level.

In terms of age, the campaigns were generally more effective among the younger respondents. Regarding the extent to which respondents prioritized policies and programs on labor exploitation, the video was marginally less effective among both members of 40-55 and 56-74 age groups by 0.19 and 0.22 points, respectively, compared to those who are aged 18-39. On the same item, the poster was also less effective among respondents who are 56-75 compared to those who are between the ages of 18 and 39 by 0.24 points (p-value < 0.05). The poster was also at least marginally less effective among the older cohorts in changing how people viewed the scope of forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong. Specifically, the effect of the poster was larger among the 18-39 age group compared to the 40-55 and 56-74 age groups by 0.16 (p-value < 0.10) and 0.23 points (p-value < 0.05), respectively.

Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Working Conditions and Rights: MDWs

Table 4.16: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 3.3	+0.1	+0.1
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.6	+0.2	+0.1
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 2.4	+0.2	+0.3

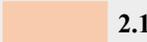
Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big.

At baseline, MDWs perceived the problem of exploitation, labor abuse, and human trafficking as well as the need to prioritize policies as higher than the general population, although still relatively low (between 2-3 points) (Table 4.16). As expected, both treatments had large, statistically significant effects on increasing MDWs perception of how big a problem exploitation, labor abuse, and human trafficking is in Hong Kong. The poster treatment led to a statistically significant increase of 0.28 points in the perception that labor abuse and human trafficking is a problem in Hong Kong. The video led to an increase of 0.21 points in the perception of the scope of exploitation of domestic workers and of forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong, which was marginally statistically significant.

Observing these effects separately based on the nationality of the workers, we find that the poster moved the Indonesian workers significantly on all three outcomes--the extent to which they felt that the government should prioritize policies and the extent of the problem of the exploitation of domestic workers, forced labor and human trafficking by 0.3, 0.4 and 0.4 points, respectively (Tables 4.17 and 4.18). In addition, the video moved these workers on all three outcomes. The video caused the Indonesian workers

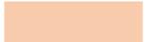
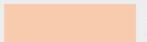
to prioritize policies by 0.2 points more, and to perceive each of the problems of exploitation of domestic workers and forced labor and trafficking as 0.3 points more prevalent, although the differences were weakly statistically significant with p-values of less than 0.10.

Table 4.17: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 3.1	+0.2	+0.3
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.5	+0.3	+0.4
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 2.1	+0.3	+0.4

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big.

Table 4.18: Problem Scope and Prioritization of MDW Rights, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How much should government prioritize policies and programs on conditions of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 3.5	-0.1	-0.2
How big of a problem is exploitation of MDWs in Hong Kong?	 2.8	+0.1	-
How big of a problem is forced labor and human trafficking in Hong Kong?	 2.6	+0.1	+0.2

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all / not at all big at all to 5 = a great deal / extremely big. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no systematic heterogeneous treatment effects based on the age and experience levels of MDW respondents.

D. Attitude Variables: Sympathy Towards MDWs

Sympathy Towards MDWs: General Population

Table 4.19: Sympathy Towards MDWs, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 1.5	+0.1	-
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 1.4	-	-

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.20: Sympathy Towards MDWs, Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 1.4	+0.1	-
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 1.3	-	-

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

To measure sympathy towards MDWs, we looked at attitudes towards victim blaming and how respondents evaluate the acceptability of behaviors associated with the mistreatment of MDWs. Prior to the treatment, general population respondents were unlikely to assign blame to MDWs who experienced sexual abuse or labor exploitation by their employer, though respondents overall were more willing to assign blame for labor exploitation than they were for sexual abuse. After exposure to the awareness campaigns, neither the poster nor the video led to a statistically significant change in willingness to blame an MDW who had been sexually abused by their employer or an MDW who had been a victim of labor exploitation for what had happened to them (Table 4.19). There were also no statistically significant differences in the effects of the campaigns between the employer and non-employer groups (Table 4.20 and 4.21). Although we hypothesized these numbers would go down, the lack of change may reflect the high levels of reported sympathy that existed at baseline.

Table 4.21: Sympathy Towards MDWs, Non-Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 1.5	+0.1	-
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 1.4	-	-

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: The campaigns were more effective in increasing male respondents' sympathy for victims of sexual abuse compared to female respondents. The effect of the poster treatment was 0.17 points larger on men compared to that on women, the difference that was statistically significant at the 0.05 level. The effect of the video treatment was 0.14 points larger for men than women, and this was marginally statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). There were no heterogeneous treatment effects on the level of sympathy respondents showed based on their education level or age.

Sympathy Towards MDWs: MDWs

Table 4.22: Sympathy Towards MDWs, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 2.4	-	+0.1
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 2.4	-	-

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

For the MDW sample, exposure to the campaigns similarly did not have any statistically significant effects (Table 4.22). While MDWs, on average, had greater levels of sympathy at the baseline, the treatments were not sufficient in fostering additional sympathy for the workers who had been victims of labor exploitation or sexual abuse. There were also no heterogeneous treatment effects based on the workers' nationality, age and length of time they have been working as foreign domestic workers (Tables 4.23 and 4.24).

Table 4.23: Sympathy Towards MDWs, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 2.4	-0.1	-0.1
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 2.4	+0.1	+0.1

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely.

Table 4.24: Sympathy Towards MDWs, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
How likely to blame MDW who was sexually abused by employer for what happened?	 2.4	-	+0.1
How likely to blame MDW who was victim of labor exploitation for what happened?	 2.4	+0.1	+0.1

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not likely at all to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no systematic heterogeneous treatment effects based on the MDWs' years of work experience. The only difference was with respect to sympathy levels for victims of labor exploitation between age groups. The video had an effect that was 0.44 points larger on the MDWs who were younger than 36 years old compared to older MDWs, and this difference was statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level.

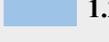
E. Attitude Variables: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs

Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs: General Population

Generally, the video campaign led to a reduction in tolerance for holding an MDW's passport and having an MDW sleep in a common area (Table 4.25). Among non-employers, the video treatment was more effective in changing attitudes around unfair practices regarding MDWs. As shown in Table 4.27, the video treatment caused non-employers to view having migrant workers sleep in the common area and holding their passports as 0.2 (p-value < 0.01) and 0.1 points (p-value < 0.10) less acceptable, respectively. With regards to waking migrant workers up in the middle of the night to care for children, and monitoring their

phone use, the campaigns did not have statistically significant effects among those who do not employ migrant workers.

Table 4.25: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 1.8	-0.1	+0.1
Hold MDW's passport	 1.6	-0.1	-0.1
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 1.5	-0.1	-
Monitor MDW's phone use	 1.3	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.2	-0.1	-
Deduct their salary	 1.1	-	-
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.1	-	-
Beat their worker	 1.0	-	-

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

In terms of effects on employers, the video treatment caused them to view the holding of migrant workers' passports as 0.2 points (p-value < 0.05) less acceptable and monitoring their phone use as 0.1 point (p-value < 0.05) less acceptable (Table 4.26). The poster was also highly effective, causing the group to see both holding migrant workers' passports and monitoring their phone use as 0.2 points less acceptable (both p-values < 0.01). The poster campaign also led employers to view waking the workers in the middle of the night to care for children as 0.1 point less acceptable, and this effect was weakly statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). For the measures on yelling, salary deductions, withholding food, and physical abuse, both the video and poster campaigns led employers to rank yelling at migrant workers as less acceptable by 1 point (p-value < 0.05). The awareness campaigns were effective in shifting employers' attitudes regarding withholding food from migrant workers, with both the video and poster treatments causing employers to view this behavior as unacceptable, by 0.03 and 0.04 points, respectively. These differences, while small, are statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. Employers in both treatment groups ranked beating migrant workers as slightly less acceptable compared to those who were not exposed to any awareness campaign materials (a difference of 0.02 percentage points; p-value < 0.10). None of the treatments produced any statistically significant changes among non-employers.

Table 4.26: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, Employers

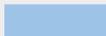
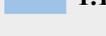
Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 2.0	-	-0.1
Hold MDW's passport	 1.7	-0.2	-0.2
Monitor MDW's phone use	 1.5	-0.1	-0.2
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 1.5	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.3	-0.1	-0.1
Deduct their salary	 1.1	-	-
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.1	-	-
Beat their worker	 1.0	-	-

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

For non-employers, the only result that was statistically significant was the video treatment on whether it was acceptable to have the MDW sleep in the common area, which reduced by 0.2 points and was significant at the 0.01 level (Table 4.27). The treatment did cause both non-employers and employers to view deducting migrant workers' salary as less acceptable, but these differences are not statistically significant.

Overall, results imply that the awareness campaign was slightly more effective in changing the attitudes of employers compared to non-employers. And while both types of campaigns were effective among employers who may have encountered these and similar issues, only the video treatment was effective among non-employers for at least half of the listed issues.

Table 4.27: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, Non-Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 1.8	-0.1	+0.1
Hold MDW's passport	 1.6	-0.1	-
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 1.5	-0.2	-
Monitor MDW's phone use	 1.3	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.2	-	-
Deduct their salary	 1.1	-	-
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.1	-	-
Beat their worker	 1.0	-	-

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Amongst the general population respondents, the treatments were slightly more effective among female respondents. Compared to men, the poster led to a 0.17 percentage point difference in reducing women's perception of the acceptability of monitoring a worker's phone use compared to men. This difference was statistically significant. The poster was also marginally more effective among women in decreasing the acceptability of employers holding MDWs' passports by 0.19 points and deducting their salary by 0.07 points (p-values < 0.10). There were no systematic heterogeneous treatment effects by education level or age.

Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs: MDWs

As with overall levels of sympathy, the poster and video campaigns did not bring about significant changes in how MDWs ranked the acceptability of behaviors that employers may engage in that constitute mistreatment (Table 4.28). There were no statistically significant changes by nationality (Tables 4.29 and 4.30).

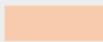
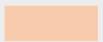
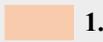
Table 4.28: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 2.2	-0.1	-0.1
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 2.2	+0.1	-
Monitor MDW's phone use	 2.0	-0.1	-
Hold MDW's passport	 2.0	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.7	-	+0.1
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.6	-	+0.1
Deduct their salary	 1.6	-	-
Beat their worker	 1.5	-0.1	-

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: The treatments generally caused more positive effects on MDWs with more experience, whose baseline tolerance levels were higher than those with fewer years of experience. This was especially the case with the poster treatment. The poster reduced the level of acceptability among MDWs with more than four years of experience on behaviors including, waking MDWs up in the middle of the night (0.43 points), monitoring their phone use (0.49 points), holding their passport (0.44 points), withholding food (0.6 points), and deducting salary (0.36 points) more than their less experienced counterparts. These differences in effects are statistically significant. Also, the effect of the poster was 0.31 points larger on MDWs with at least 4 years of experience compared to MDWs with fewer years of experience with regard to tolerating beating as a form of punishment, but this difference was only weakly statistically significant. The video also had larger effects on MDWs with more experience. The video led MDWs with at least 4 years of experience to regard withholding food as less acceptable, and the effect was 0.38 points larger than those with fewer years of experience. That difference was statistically significant at the 0.05 level. It also led more experienced MDWs to view waking up MDWs in the middle of the night to take care of children as less acceptable by 0.39 points more than those with fewer years of experience, and this difference was weakly statistically significant (p-value < 0.10). There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by age.

Table 4.29: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 2.4	-	-0.1
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 2.3	+0.2	+0.1
Hold MDW's passport	 2.2	-	-0.1
Monitor MDW's phone use	 2.1	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.9	-0.1	+0.1
Deduct their salary	 1.6	-	-
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.6	-	+0.1
Beat their worker	 1.6	-0.1	+0.1

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

F. Attitude Variables: Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse

Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse: General Population

We examined the effect of the treatments on perceptions of measures to reduce labor abuse. These included measures such as: adopting stricter punishments for individuals who engage in labor abuse; providing people with more information about labor exploitation; increasing workplace monitoring and supervision; improving economic conditions and wages in the home country of foreign domestic migrant workers; educating girls and providing them with more work; and providing more police training.

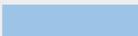
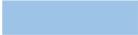
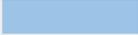
Looking at weighted averages for the full general population sample (Table 4.31), the treatments did not have a strong effect on shaping respondents' perceptions of effective measures to reduce labor abuse. Furthermore, it appears that providing respondents with more information about labor exploitation through the campaign does not actually lead them to think that more information is an effective tool. In fact, the poster decreased their assessment of this as a helpful tool.

Table 4.30: Evaluation of Behaviors Towards MDWs, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Have MDW sleep in the common area	 2.1	-0.1	-
Wake MDW in middle of night to care for children	 2.1	-0.1	-0.1
Monitor MDW's phone use	 1.9	-0.2	-
Hold MDW's passport	 1.8	-	-
Yell at their worker	 1.6	-	+0.1
Withhold their food/food allowance	 1.6	-	+0.2
Deduct their salary	 1.5	-	-
Beat their worker	 1.5	-0.1	-

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = never acceptable to 5 = always acceptable. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.31: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.4	+0.1	-0.1
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.3	-	-0.2
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.2	-	-0.1
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.2	-	-0.1
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.2	+0.1	-
Provide more police training	 2.6	+0.1	-

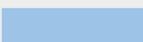
Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

When considering the weighted general population sample as a whole, there were no statistically significant effects on perceived effectiveness of most measures to address labor abuse. However, the poster campaign led general population respondents to see providing more information about labor exploitation as 0.2 points less effective (Table 4.31).

However, there are differences based on the respondents’ status as an employer. When considering the differences between the effects on employers and non-employers, the video treatment changed the employers’ increased perception that adopting stricter punishments for individuals who engage in labor abuse is effective (Table 4.32). Both treatments led employers to view workplace monitoring as a more effective measure for reducing labor abuse, although the difference was statistically significant only among those who received the video treatment (p-value < 0.10). The video treatment changed the employers’ views, causing them to regard improving economic conditions and wages in the home country of foreign domestic migrant workers as more effective compared to the control group, who did not receive any treatment, by 0.2 points (p-value < 0.01). Receiving the poster treatment shifted their views in the same direction, but had no statistically significant impact among employers.

Additionally, both the video and poster campaigns had statistically significant effects among the employers regarding educating girls and providing them with more work opportunities. Those who received the video and poster campaigns regarded this measure as 0.2 points more effective, a difference that is statistically significant (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.32: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.4	+0.2	+0.1
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.2	+0.1	+0.1
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.1	+0.1	-
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.1	+0.2	+0.1
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.1	+0.2	+0.2
Provide more police training	 2.6	+0.1	+0.1

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes (‘-’) indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

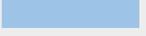
Lastly, we found that while treatments did generally change employers’ views so that those who received the treatments viewed police training to be slightly more effective than those who received no treatment,

the differences were not statistically significant. Overall, both the poster and video treatments shifted the employers' attitudes in the same direction, inducing them to see each of the provided measures as more effective.

In contrast to the employers of our sample, the awareness campaigns did not produce meaningful attitudinal changes among non-employers with regard to the effectiveness of these various measures in reducing labor abuse. The first row of Table 4.33 shows how respondents who do not employ domestic migrant workers view adopting stricter punishments for individuals who engage in labor abuse. The poster treatment caused these individuals to view strict punishments as more effective, while the poster treatment caused them to view the measure as less effective. However, neither the poster nor the video treatment had statistically significant effects, suggesting that the changes were spurious.

With regards to providing people with more information about labor exploitation, the poster treatment induced non-employers to see this measure as less effective compared to those who were not exposed to any awareness campaign through this study by 0.2 points (p-value < 0.01). The video treatment also altered their attitudes in the same direction, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 4.33: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, Non-Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.4	-	-0.1
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.3	-	-0.2
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.3	-0.1	-0.1
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.2	-0.1	-0.1
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.2	-	-
Provide more police training	 2.6	+0.1	-

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Among non-employers, the treatments also increased skepticism about the effectiveness of increasing workplace monitoring and supervision. This difference was statistically significant among those who received the poster treatment (p-value < 0.10), but not among those who received the video treatment. Next, among non-employers in the study, those who received either treatment viewed educating girls and providing them with more work options as less effective than those who did not receive any treatment. Note that the difference was statistically significant only for those who received the poster treatment. The

awareness campaigns also did not shift non-employers’ attitudes with regard to improving economic conditions in the home country of foreign domestic workers. They did cause these individuals to view police training as slightly more effective, but the differences are negligible. Overall, our results show that while the awareness campaigns, and in particular the video treatment, had meaningful effects among employers of MDWs, they did not produce consistent effects among non-employers.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: Amongst the general population respondents, the treatments were slightly more effective among female respondents. Specifically, the poster treatment had larger effects on men compared to women on three of six measures proposed to address labor abuse: increase workplace monitoring and supervision (0.19 points), adopt stricter punishment for individuals who engage in labor abuse (0.22 points), and provide individuals with more information about labor abuse (0.23 points). These differences in effects were all statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. Comparing the effects across age groups, we found that the poster led older respondents to view some measures as less effective compared to the younger group. The poster caused those aged 56-74 to view workplace monitoring and providing more information about labor abuse as less effective, and this negative change in view was 0.35 points larger and statistically significant on those aged 56-74 compared to those aged 18-39. It also had a negative effect that was 0.3 points larger in magnitude on the 56-74 age group than the 18-39 age group in regard to providing more police training, a difference in effect that was statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. There were no clear systematic heterogeneous treatment effects by education level.

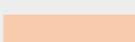
Table 4.34: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.6	+0.1	+0.1
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.6	-	-
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.6	-	+0.1
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.6	+0.1	-
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.6	+0.1	+0.1
Provide more police training	 3.5	+0.1	-

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

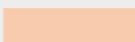
Perceived Effectiveness of Measures to Address Labor Abuse: MDWs

Table 4.35: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.6	-	-
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.6	-	+0.1
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.6	-	+0.1
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.6	+0.1	+0.2
Provide more police training	 3.6	-	+0.1
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.5	+0.2	+0.3

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.36: Effectiveness of Different Measures in Reducing Labor Abuse, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Provide more information about labor exploitation	 3.7	-	-0.1
Educate girls and provide them with more work options	 3.7	-	-
Improve economic conditions and wages in home country of MDWs	 3.7	-	-
Adopt stricter punishments for those who engage in labor abuse	 3.6	+0.1	-
Increase workplace monitoring and supervision	 3.6	+0.2	-
Provide more police training	 3.5	+0.2	-

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all effective to 5 = extremely effective. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

On the effectiveness of measures to address labor abuse, we found no treatment effects across the entire sample of MDWs in Hong Kong (Table 4.34). Separating MDWs by their nationality, we found that the

poster campaign led Indonesians to view providing more information about labor abuse as more effective (Tables 4.35 and 4.36).

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by the length of work experience or age of MDW respondents.

G. Attitude Variables: Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations

Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations: General Population

Next, we turn to the effects of the awareness campaigns on how individuals evaluate the prevalence of specific situations related to labor exploitation in Hong Kong. These include people being forced to work for little or no pay and people being forced to pay off a debt. For the general population sample, the treatments did not have statistically significant effects on views of prevalence on the average weighted sample (Table 4.37) or by employer (Table 4.38) and non-employer groups (Table 4.39).

Table 4.37: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.5	-	-0.1
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.0	-	-

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.38: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, Employers

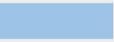
Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.5	-0.1	-0.1
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.1	-0.1	-0.1

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: The campaigns were slightly more effective among female respondents compared to male respondents in terms of the perceived prevalence of these situations in Hong Kong. The poster treatment had larger effects among women in how they perceived the prevalence of people being forced to work for little or no pay by 0.26 points (p-value < 0.05). In addition, the video treatment had larger effects--by 0.19 points which were marginally statistically significant--on women in terms of the perceived prevalence of situations of people being forced to work

to pay off a debt. In terms of age groups, the effects were largest among those between the ages of 40 and 56. Compared to the youngest group, aged 18-39, the poster and video campaigns had effects that were 0.36 and 0.34 points, respectively, larger older respondents. These differences in effects were statistically significant. Regarding the prevalence of people being forced to work to pay off a debt, the video also had an effect that was 0.22 points larger on the 40-56 age group compared to those who are younger. There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by the education level of respondents.

Table 4.39: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, Non-Employers

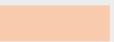
Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.5	-	-0.1
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.0	-	-

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Perceived Prevalence of Labor Exploitation Situations: MDWs

The poster and video campaigns did not lead to any statistically significant changes in how MDWs felt about the prevalence of these issues (Table 4.40). There were also no meaningful differences based on the nationality (Tables 4.41 and 4.42), age, and years of work experience of MDWs.

Table 4.40: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.7	+0.1	-
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.7	+0.2	-0.1

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by the length of work experience or age of MDW respondents.

Table 4.41: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 2.4	+0.2	+0.1
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 2.4	+0.3	-

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.42: How Prevalent Labor Exploitation is in Hong Kong, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
People being forced to work to pay off a debt	 3.1	-	-0.1
People being forced to work for little or no pay	 3.1	+0.1	-0.2

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all often to 5 = extremely often. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

H. Attitude Variables: Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse

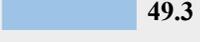
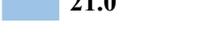
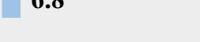
Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse: General Population

Table 4.43 illustrates how general population respondents perceive the causes of labor abuse. Prior to viewing the treatment campaigns, the three leading perceived causes were poverty, poor wages, and lack of information for both employers and non-employers. The least important reason for both of these groups were reckless behavior by the victims. Less than 50 percent of general population respondents regarded gender and ethnic discrimination as well as weak laws and law enforcement as principal reasons behind labor abuse. Overall, the awareness campaigns did not change the order in which people viewed these issues as principal reasons people experience labor abuse. Yet, there was a notable difference in the way the poster treatment shifted these perceptions. The poster decreased the proportion of the sample who viewed unemployment as a principal reason (Table 4.43).

Comparing the effects of the campaigns on employers and non-employers, the treatments generally caused employers to increase their rating of certain issues as principal reasons people experience labor abuse. The video treatment increased by 4 to 7 percentage points the proportion of employers who identified lack of information, poverty, poor wages, unemployment, and family pressures on the victims to earn money as leading reasons for why people experience labor abuse (Table 4.44). However, these differences were not

statistically meaningful. The video led to a 3% decrease in the proportion of employers who view gender discrimination as a principal reason, but this difference is not statistically meaningful.

Table 4.43: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Poverty	 74.9	-0.8	-0.2
Poor wages	 66.8	+0.5	-3.0
Lack of Information / lack of education	 54.6	+2.8	+4.8
Unemployment	 51.5	-0.2	-6.8
Family pressure to earn money	 49.3	-4.4	-2.3
Weak laws/law enforcement	 39.5	+2.8	+2.5
Ethnic discrimination	 29.2	-1.6	-3.9
Gender discrimination	 21.0	-1.0	-0.2
Reckless behavior by the victims	 6.8	+0.9	-0.1

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % selected.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

The poster also increased the proportion of employers who identify poverty, poor wages, lack of information, unemployment, weak laws, and reckless behavior as principal reasons for labor exploitation. However, the magnitude of the difference was smaller compared to the video treatment, causing at most a 4.5 percentage point change. None of these increases were statistically significant. The poster led to a decrease in the proportion of employers to identify gender discrimination, ethnic discrimination, and family pressure to earn money as principal reasons for labor abuse. None of these decreases were statistically significant either.

Overall, while the employers who received the awareness campaign in either format were more likely to view many of these issues as leading causes of labor abuse, the video treatment was often more effective in both magnitude and statistical significance. What is also notable is that the treatments at times had the opposite effect of leading individuals, on average, to view certain issues as less problematic. This was especially the case for gender discrimination, as both the poster and video treatments led to a decrease--

albeit statistically insignificant--in the proportion of employers who regarded it as a leading cause of labor abuse.

Table 4.44: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, Employers

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Poverty	 71.2	+4.7	+1.9
Poor wages	 62.7	+6.9	+4.6
Lack of Information / lack of education	 61.1	+6.8	+4.0
Family pressure to earn money	 51.7	+4.4	-1.2
Unemployment	 43.3	+4.7	+0.5
Weak laws/law enforcement	 41.4	+3.8	+4.3
Ethnic discrimination	 27.9	+3.6	-0.6
Gender discrimination	 22.9	-3.4	-3.2
Reckless behavior by the victims	 6.3	+1.9	+0.1

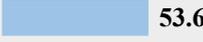
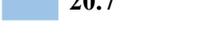
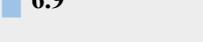
Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % selected. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Among non-employers, the campaigns rarely produced statistically significant changes, and often shifted attitudes in the opposite direction compared to employers (Table 4.45). The video treatment led, on average, to about 1 to 3 percentage point increase of non-employers who regarded lack of information, reckless behavior by victims, weak laws and law enforcement as principal reasons contributing to labor abuse. On the other hand, it led to a 1 to 3 percentage point decrease of non-employers who saw poverty, poor wages, unemployment, gender discrimination, and ethnic discrimination as leading causes of labor abuse. However, it is important to note that none of these differences are statistically significant. The only issue where the change was weakly statistically significant pertained to victims facing family pressure to earn money--the video campaign caused about a 6 percentage point decrease in the share of non-employers who saw this as a leading problem (p-value < 0.10).

The poster treatment shifted the attitudes of non-employers in the same direction as the video treatment, with the exception of gender discrimination and reckless behavior by victims. It led to a greater share of

this group to see lack of information, weak laws and law enforcement, and gender discrimination as leading causes of labor abuse, and led a smaller share of this group to see poverty, poor wages, unemployment, reckless behavior by victims, ethnic discrimination, and family pressure to earn money as leading causes of labor abuse. However, the only issue where there was a statistically significant change relates to unemployment; those who received the poster treatment saw unemployment as less of an issue compared to the control group who did not receive any awareness campaign by 8 percentage points (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.45: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, Non-Employers

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Poverty	 75.5	-1.7	-0.5
Poor wages	 67.4	-0.5	-4.1
Lack of information / lack of education	 53.6	+1.7	+4.9
Unemployment	 52.7	-0.8	-7.9
Family pressure to earn money	 49.0	-6.3	-2.4
Weak laws/law enforcement	 39.2	+2.5	+2.3
Ethnic discrimination	 29.4	-2.6	-4.4
Gender discrimination	 20.7	-0.6	+0.3
Reckless behavior by the victims	 6.9	+0.7	-0.1

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = % selected. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by gender or age of the respondents. Comparing the effects based on the respondents' education levels, the poster had larger effects on non-college educated respondents, causing even a greater proportion of them to view lack of information (difference = 15 percentage points; p-value < 0.05), weak laws (difference = 10.9 percentage points; p-value < 0.10), and family pressure to earn money (difference = 11.9 percentage points; p-value < 0.10) as main drivers of labor abuse.

Perceived Causes of Labor Abuse: MDWs

The treatments did not bring about changes in how MDWs (Table 4.46) viewed the principal reasons for labor abuse. However, there were some subgroup differences. Table 4.47 shows that the poster led more Indonesian workers to regard lack of information as the principal cause of labor abuse (p-value < 0.10) while leading fewer MDWs to see unemployment as a leading cause of the problem (p-value < 0.05). Neither treatment led to statistically significant changes among Filipina MDWs (Table 4.48).

Table 4.46: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, MDWs

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Poor wages	 43.1	-3.0	-2.5
Lack of information / lack of education	 39.6	-4.0	-0.1
Poverty	 38.0	+2.9	-1.5
Unemployment	 32.7	-5.2	-6.4
Family pressure to earn money	 24.4	+4.0	+2.8
Ethnic discrimination	 23.8	-1.6	-2.5
Reckless behavior by the victims	 21.8	-2.6	+1.1
Lack of information / lack of education	 19.1	+2.8	+2.1
Gender discrimination	 18.9	-0.6	-4.4

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % selected. Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Table 4.47: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Poor wages	 37.0	-2.9	-2.5
Unemployment	 31.9	-10.7	-13.4
Poverty	 29.4	+8.5	+6.7
Lack of information / lack of education	 25.2	+2.1	+10.1
Ethnic discrimination	 22.7	-0.7	-3.4
Weak laws / enforcement	 20.2	+1.0	+3.4
Reckless behavior by the victims	 19.3	-0.4	-0.8
Family pressure to earn money	 17.6	+5.8	+4.2
Gender discrimination	 16.0	+2.2	-5.0

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % selected.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

The video treatment led more of the younger MDWs to select weak laws and law enforcement as principal causes of labor abuse. The video treatment led more of the older cohort of MDWs to select family pressure as a principal reason. Its effect was 13.8 percentage points larger among workers who were at least 36 years old, the median age of the workers in our sample, compared to those who were younger; this difference in effect was statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level. Finally, when looking at the workers separately by the length of time that they worked as MDWs, using the median length--or 4 years--as the cutoff, we found that both the poster and video campaigns led more of the experienced MDWs to see family pressure to earn money as contributing to situations of labor abuse. The effect of the poster was 18.9 percentage points larger for the more experienced group of workers compared to those with fewer years of experience, and this difference was statistically significant at a 0.01 significance level. The video had a 11.5 percentage point larger effect on those with at least 4 years of experience compared to those with fewer years of experience, and this difference was weakly significant. The similarity in patterns that we observe when breaking up the sample by age and work duration is likely due to the fact that the younger workers, on average, have fewer years of experience.

Table 4.48: Beliefs about Principal Reasons People Experience Labor Abuse, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (% Selected)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Controls)
Lack of information / lack of education	47.7	-7.6	-7.8
Poor wages	46.4	-3.8	-2.8
Poverty	42.5	-1.7	-8.1
Unemployment	31.4	-1.1	-2.5
Family pressure to earn money	26.8	3.4	2.0
Ethnic discrimination	25.5	-2.0	-1.6
Reckless behavior by the victims	22.9	-3.7	2.9
Gender discrimination	21.6	-2.4	-3.8
Weak laws / enforcement	19.0	4.5	1.9

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = % answered selected.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05).

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: There were no heterogeneous treatment effects by the length of work experience or age of MDW respondents.

I. Practice Variables: Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse

Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse: General Population

The next set of tables shows the likelihood of respondents taking action against labor abuse. Generally, the video led to a statistically significant increase in general population respondents' willingness to call the police about labor abuse (see Table 4.49). Among employers, results indicate that those who received the awareness campaigns were more likely to report that they would call the police in these situations and were more likely to talk to their family and friends about labor exploitation (see Table 4.50). That said, the changes were not statistically significant.

Table 4.49: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, General Population

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 2.7	-	-
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 2.4	+0.2	-

Note: Base is general population (employers and non-employers), excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Among those who do not employ foreign MDWs, the video treatment increased their intention of reporting labor abuse to the police by 0.2 points (p-value < 0.05) (see Table 4.51). The poster moved their attitudes in the same direction, but the difference is negligible. Neither the poster nor the video treatments significantly affected non-employers' attitudes regarding their intention of talking to their family and friends about labor exploitation.

Table 4.50: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 2.6	+0.1	-
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 2.4	+0.1	+0.1

Note: Base is employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.51: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, Non-Employers

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 2.7	-	-
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 2.4	+0.2	-

Note: Base is non-employers of MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Blue bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Gender, Education, and Age Differences, General Population: The poster was marginally more effective on female respondents by increasing their willingness to talk to family and friends about labor

abuse exploitation more than men. This difference in effect was about 0.20 points and it was weakly statistically significant. In addition, the poster was more effective on the younger respondents (aged 18-39) compared to the 56-74 age group, increasing their willingness to call the police in a situation of labor abuse by 0.35 points. This difference in effect was statistically significant (p-value < 0.05). This is consistent with our findings that the effects are generally larger for respondents who are younger and female. We did not observe any systematic heterogeneous treatment effects based on the respondents' education.

Willingness to Take Action Against Labor Abuse: MDWs

Table 4.52: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 3.8	-	-
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 3.8	-	-

Note: Base is all MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

The treatments did not produce any statistically significant effects on MDWs willingness to take action by calling the police or talking to friends and family about labor exploitation (Table 4.52). There were no differences based on nationality either (Tables 4.53 and 4.54). The lack of change may reflect that baseline levels were already relatively high at baseline. It should also be noted that even though there was no change due to campaigns, compared to general population, MDWs levels of willingness to take action are still higher than their general population counterparts.

Work Experience and Age Differences, MDWs: We did not observe any other heterogeneous treatment effects on these variables, with the exception being that the video had a bigger effect on the older cohorts by 0.3 points. (p-value < 0.10).

Table 4.53: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, Indonesian MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 3.8	-	+0.1
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 3.7	-	-

Note: Base is Indonesian MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

Table 4.54: Willingness to take Action Against Labor Abuse, Filipino MDWs

Question	Control (Average Score)	Video (Gap with Control)	Poster (Gap with Control)
Talk to family and friends about labor exploitation	 3.9	-0.1	-
Call the police about situation you think might be labor abuse	 3.9	-	-0.1

Note: Base is Filipino MDWs, excluding those who refused to answer. **Orange bars = average score.** **Blue data labels/orange data labels** denote significantly **higher** or **lower** than control (p-value < 0.05). Scale is 1 = not at all likely to 5 = extremely likely. Dashes ('-') indicate a 0.0 difference from the control group.

III. Results: Nepal versus Hong Kong Comparison

Having discussed the effects of awareness campaigns on KAP levels among the general population and MDW in Hong Kong, we now turn to comparing the results of the general population survey with a similar survey conducted in Nepal in 2013¹. In Nepal, the research team found several important differences between respondents exposed to an awareness campaign and those in the control group who were not exposed to one. Namely, the study found that exposure to a campaign generally increases the ability of an individual to self-identify as having been trafficked and to recognize the occurrence of human trafficking among family and friends. It also increases an individual’s sense of urgency around human trafficking, including concern about the issue, awareness that human trafficking is a significant problem nationally in Nepal, and a belief that the government should prioritize anti-trafficking actions.

However, in Nepal, it was found that exposure to an awareness campaign did not increase awareness about the prevalence of human trafficking in one’s community. This finding is cause for concern because if respondents believe their community is exceptional or immune to the push and pull factors of human trafficking, and do not believe that human trafficking is an issue in their community, they may be more likely to overlook it when it does actually manifest itself. Setting aside this concern, campaigns perform well at increasing an individual’s knowledge about human trafficking and dispelling the misconception that transnational movement is a prerequisite for trafficking.

In Hong Kong, we similarly found that exposure to an awareness campaign increased an individual’s sense of urgency around and willingness to prioritize human trafficking. We further found that the awareness campaign was effective in increasing knowledge on a subset of issues around forced labor and human trafficking, even those not directly addressed in the awareness campaign. Unlike in Nepal, we found that the awareness campaign did not increase the belief that the government should prioritize anti-trafficking actions; we believe this is likely due to the fact that there are a number of key issues Hong Kongers are

¹ For full results of the Nepal study see: Archer, Dan, Margaret Boittin, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. (2016). “Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking: An Experimental Intervention Using Anti-Trafficking Campaigns to Change Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Practices in Nepal.” Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series, USAID. Retrieved from: <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/DFG-Vanderbilt-Publication>.

facing at the moment that might be deemed as more vital to be prioritized by the government, such as democratic reforms and COVID management.

When considering these cross-national differences, it is important to note some differences in the campaign treatments. For each study, the research team tailored the awareness campaigns to address the particular dynamics of labor exploitation present in each location. As such, the awareness campaigns disseminated in Nepal focused on human trafficking and different forms of domestic and international trafficking, including sex trafficking, child trafficking and labor trafficking. In Hong Kong, the treatment focused specifically on labor exploitation and mistreatment of migrant domestic workers. The Hong Kong treatment was also developed based on results found in the Nepali study that empowerment campaigns are generally more effective. As such, the Hong Kong campaign only included an empowerment narrative.

IV. Conclusion

Overall, the treatments tended to have a larger impact on the general population respondents than the MDW respondents and this impact was often positive in terms of increasing their knowledge of MDW rights and working conditions, and lowering their tolerance for certain types of mistreatment. These shifts are important given that employers have direct control over the working conditions of MDWs and non-employers have the capacity to help prevent labor abuse by reporting its occurrence in their communities, even if they themselves are not engaging in it. In considering differences between the effectiveness of the two types of campaigns, the video tended to have a stronger effect overall, but there were a few cases in which the poster performed better.

For knowledge outcomes, among the general population, the video led to more meaningful increases in knowledge levels on more variables than the poster did. However, neither treatment led to significant changes in levels of knowledge among MDWs.

In terms of identifying the scope of the problem of labor abuse and human trafficking in Hong Kong, both treatments had large and significant effects on increasing MDWs and general populations perceptions of the prevalence of labor abuse. The video had a stronger impact on these variables, however. Yet, when it comes to general population and MDWs perceptions of how much the government should prioritize these issues, neither treatment had an effect.

To measure attitudinal outcomes, MDW and general population respondents were asked to rank the level of acceptability of certain behaviors associated with the mistreatment of MDWs. At baseline, both general population and MDW respondents had low tolerance for these behaviors, but MDWs started with higher tolerance than general population respondents. Amongst the general population, the video and poster reduced employers' ranking of acceptability for holding on to an MDW's passport and having an MDW sleep in a common area. The video also reduced employers' rating of the acceptability of yelling at an MDW. Notably, neither treatment affected how MDWs ranked the acceptability of these behaviors.

When it comes to measures assessing the effectiveness of different policy and programmatic tools to reduce labor abuse, the campaigns were more effective on employers than non-employers. The video increased employers' perception of the effectiveness of several tools, including adopting stricter punishments, improving economic conditions in an MDW's home country and educating girls and providing them with more work opportunities. However, the poster decreased non-employers' perception that certain tools would be effective at reducing labor exploitation, while

Finally, there were several notable cross-national similarities and differences between treatment effects when comparing Nepal and Hong Kong. In both countries, we found that campaigns were effective at increasing the perceptions of the scope of the problem addressed by the campaign. In both contexts, the campaign also had a positive impact on general population knowledge levels. However, in Hong Kong, the campaigns were not as effective in increasing the need for the government to prioritize these issues.

APPENDIX

I. Balance Tests

Checking balance across key demographic characteristics, we see that randomization worked, with no statistically significant differences across assignment groups, with the exception of education level (Table A.1).

Table A.1: Balance Checks by Treatment Assignment

	Video	Poster	Control	Overall	p-value
Gender	1.457	1.438	1.483	1.459	0.244
Age	2.844	2.856	2.880	2.860	0.870
Educational Attainment	3.346	3.247	3.191	3.261	0.000
Religious Background	5.382	6.463	5.480	5.775	0.457
Marital Status	1.732	1.811	1.826	1.789	0.370
Members in Immediate Family	2.883	2.832	2.821	2.845	0.615
Urban or Rural Hometown	1.982	1.987	1.976	1.9815	0.359
Employ MDW	1.453	1.528	1.521	1.5005	0.010
Proportion	0.333	0.333	0.333	1.000	